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MARITIME DISCOVERY.

MARITIME DISCOVERY:

A HISTORY OF NAUTICAL EXPLORATION FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

BY

CHARLES RATHBONE LOW, F.R.G.S.,

LIEUTENANT (LATE) INDIAN NAVY,

AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NAVY,' 'MEMOIR OF SIR GARNET WOLSELEY,' 'SOLDIERS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE,' ETC., ETC.

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MARITIME DISCOVERY:

A HISTORY OF NAUTICAL RESEARCH FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

Spanish Navigators in the South Seas—Sarmiento's Expedition to the Straits of Magellan—Ill-fortune of the Spanish Colonists at Port Famine—Discovery of the Marquesas Islands and other Groups by Mendana—The Voyage of Vizcaino—Dutch Voyages of Discovery—Van Cordes and Sebald de Weert—Olivier van Noort—Quiros's Discoveries while in search of a Southern Continent—Discoveries of his Companion De Torres in Australia and New Guinea.

We are inclined, in our view of the credit due to the Portuguese, Dutch, and English for their discoveries, to overlook the great part played by the Spaniards. Though to Lusitania we are indebted for the discovery of the sea route to that mighty empire which acknowledges our sway, to the bold seamen of the Iberian peninsula the world is largely indebted for their explorations among the islands of the Pacific. British seamen again have made Polar discovery peculiarly their own. In this department of nautical research they have been unrivalled, and Neptune might speak of them as a race of men—

'Whose daring deeds
Will in renown exalt my nameless plains

O'er those of fabling earth, as hers to mine
In terror yield.'

One of the most remarkable Spanish navigators was Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who had been sent by the viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, from Callao, in pursuit of Drake, and continued the fruitless search as far as Panama; but good-fortune befriended our countryman, as the island of Canno, where Drake stopped for three weeks to refit, is not 100 leagues from the Bay of Panama. On Sarmiento's return to Lima, the viceroy despatched him to the Straits, with two ships, the *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* and the *San Francisco*, commanded by Juan de Villalobos, with 108 men, to intercept the intrepid British seaman, as it was thought he would return to Europe by that route. The ships sailed on the 11th of October, 1579, and, after exploring the Gulf of Santissima Trinidada, Sarmiento passed through the Straits of Magellan, and, visiting Ascension on the 11th of April, sighted the Spanish coast on the 15th of August. Sarmiento kept an excellent and detailed journal of this voyage, an abstract of which appears in Argensola's 'History of the Conquest of the Moluccas.'

Sarmiento offered to conduct an expedition to fortify and colonise the Straits, to which Philip II. gave his assent, and accordingly, on the 25th of September, 1581, a fleet of twenty-three ships, in which were embarked 3500 men, sailed for the Straits from Seville, under the chief command of Diego Flores de Valdes, one division of which was eventually to proceed to Chili under the newly-appointed viceroy, Alonso de Soto Mayor; the second to Brazil with the commander-in-chief, who was created Captain-General of the coast of Brazil, Portugal then belonging to the Spanish crown, and the third division

was intended for the service of the military colony in the Straits.*

On the 3rd of October the expedition, the history of which is a continuous record of ill-fortune and mismanagement, encountered a severe storm, in which five ships, including the *Esperanza*, were wrecked and 800 men perished, upon which Flores returned to Spain. In December, sixteen of the ships sailed again, and anchored on the 24th of March at Rio Janeiro, where they wintered. In November, the fleet, which had lost 300 men from disease, sailed for the Straits; but misfortune dogged their steps, and in 38° S. Lat., the *Riola*, one of the largest ships, foundered with 350 souls on board, upon which Flores returned to Santa Catalina in Brazil, losing the Santa Maria off the coast. Here three of his largest ships were condemned as unseaworthy, and in January, 1583, returned to Rio with 300 sick men. On their way they put into St. Vincent, when they encountered two English ships, under the command of Edward Fenton and Luke Ward, and a pinnace, under John Drake, and after an action, one of the Spanish ships was sunk; but the English vessels quitted the port and returned to England, except the pinnace, which was cast away on the coast, whence some of the crew, with Drake, found their way to the Spanish settlements, and were sent to Peru.†

* Lopez Vaz has given an account of this expedition in his 'History of the West Indies and of the South Sea,' of which a translation appears in Hakluyt's 'Collections' (vol. iii. p. 794, edition of 1600).

† For an account of this English expedition, see Ward's journal in vol. iii. of Hakluyt's 'Collection.' The expedition, which left England in May, 1582, consisted of two ships and two barques, and proceeded to Guinea, and thence to Brazil, with the intention of going to China by the Straits of Magellan, but returned to the river La Plata and St. Vincent.

[illegible] sailed again for the Straits on the 11th of [illegible] but one ship was lost, and in latitude [illegible] were detached, under Soto Mayor, [illegible] whence he was to march overland [illegible] On the 7th of February, the [illegible] now in five ships, arrived at the [illegible] but a gale of wind forced them out [illegible] Here they were reinforced by four ships [illegible] disgusted with his ill-success, re- [illegible] determined to [illegible] refitted the fleet, [illegible] in the end of December, with five [illegible] The entrance on the [illegible] were carried back by the ebb [illegible] near which, [illegible] were disembarked to form the [illegible] pursued the expedition [illegible] The ships were forced to sea by a [illegible] the Penguin was wrecked on [illegible] with singular treachery, [illegible] leaving Sarmiento [illegible]* The number of the [illegible] men and thirty women, with provisions [illegible] called the first settlement, [illegible] on the north side. Nombre [illegible] men here under Andres [illegible] to Point St. Anna, whither

[illegible] Magellanes, Madrid, 1788, in [illegible] by Sarmiento, preserved [illegible] declaration, made in presence of [illegible] 1580, nearly forty years after- [illegible] accompanied Sarmiento in the [illegible]

he marched with 100 men, and founded a second colony, which he named San Felipe.

On the 25th of May, Sarmiento sailed in the *Maria* for Nombre de Jesus, but on arriving off the town, was driven by a tempest from his anchors, and, after beating against the storm for twenty days, according to his account, though Lopez Vaz avers that 'his men said he cut his cables,' proceeded to Rio. Here he procured and loaded with meal a vessel which he sent to the colonists, intending to proceed thither with further supplies; but his ship was wrecked on the coast, many of his crew were drowned, and he only reached land on a plank.

Purchasing a small vessel of sixty tons, he sailed in January, 1585, for the Straits with supplies, but in latitude 39° S. was compelled to throw his cargo overboard to save her from foundering, and, after an absence of fifty-one days, returned to Rio, where he found the barque he had despatched with provisions for the Straits, she having been unable to effect the passage. The winter was now approaching, and the governor of the Brazilian forts declined to furnish him with any more supplies, so Sarmiento, all his plans having miscarried, sailed for Spain in April, 1585. His ill-luck followed him, for off the Azores he was attacked by three English ships, taken prisoner and brought before Queen Elizabeth, who, after speaking with him in Latin, released him and presented him with 1000 crowns. It was not until some years later that he arrived in Spain, and we find that he was living at the Philippine Islands in the year 1608, when Argensola wrote his 'History of the Conquest of the Moluccas,' and his usual ill-fortune attended him in an expedition for the reduction of these islands.

After Sarmiento's departure for Spain, the Governor of Rio made a final effort to send relief to the unfortu-

nate colonists, but the ship was driven back, and they were left to their fate. What that was may be recounted in a few lines. In August, 1584, three months after being abandoned by their leader, the settlers at Nombre de Jesus removed by land to San Felipe; but as there was a deficiency of supplies, Andres de Viedma sent back to Nombre de Jesus 200 men, many of whom died of want during the winter. In the following year Viedma constructed two small vessels, in which he embarked with fifty men and five women, being the surviving colonists of San Felipe. But after proceeding only six leagues, one of the barques was wrecked, when they relinquished the project of quitting the Straits. To increase the means of subsistence they distributed themselves in small parties along the coast, and on the 7th January, 1587, when Thomas Cavendish, the famous English navigator, arrived in the Straits, the survivors of the settlers at San Felipe, who were then journeying towards Nombre de Dios, were reduced by starvation, sickness, and the attacks of the natives, to fifteen men and three women. On this occasion, Cavendish offered to embark these unfortunates, but, a fair wind springing up, left them to their fate,* with the exception of one man, Tomé Hernandez, from whose deposition, made thirty-three years afterwards before the Viceroy of Peru, is derived the only information we have concerning the colonists after the departure of Sarmiento.

In January, 1590, Andrew Merick, commander of the *Delight*, of Bristol, who had lost no less than thirty-eight

* Cavendish after passing both the Angosturas (Narrows) anchored on the 9th at San Felipe, which the unfortunate settlers had just quitted, and having taken in water and wood, on the 14th sailed from the place, which he renamed Port Famine, and on the 24th February entered the South Sea.

men out of his crew of ninety-one, since leaving England in the preceding August, took on board near San Felipe, renamed Port Famine by Cavendish, a Spaniard, the sole survivor of the 400 colonists landed in the Strait by Sarmiento six years before. This man said that 'San Felipe and the other Spanish colony being destroyed by famine, he had lived in a house by himself a long time.' He was, however, destined never to see his native land, for the *Delight* was unable, owing to adverse winds, to proceed through the Straits, and on the 30th August arrived at Cherbourg with only four Englishmen, a Breton and a Portuguese, both Merick and the Spaniard having died on the passage.

The island of Formosa—a Portuguese word which means beautiful, as does the Spanish name Hermosa —was first seen in the year 1582, by a Spanish vessel which was wrecked there while sailing from Macao to Japan. On the 10th March in the same year, Francisco de Gualle or Gali,* sailed from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands and Macao, which he left on his return to New Spain on the 24th July, 1584, passing near the Loochow (or Lequios) Islands,† which are first mentioned by Antonio Galvaom in his 'History of the Discoveries of the World' brought down to the year 1555.

Mention has been made of the first voyage of the Spanish navigator, Alvaro de Mendaña, or Mendoza, in 1567, when he discovered and named the island of San Christoval, one of the Solomon group. Twenty-eight years afterwards, Philip II. of Spain having, in a letter

* An English translation of Gali's account of this voyage appears in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 442, edition of 1600. Also in 'Discourse of Voyages to the East and West Indies,' by J. H. Linschoten, book iii. chap. liv.

† The first Englishman to describe the group was Captain Broughton, who visited them in 1797; see his 'Voyages,' p. 241.

dated 21st January, 1594, recommended to the Viceroy of Peru the prosecution of enterprises for new discoveries and settlements, Mendana was appointed to the command of an expedition consisting of four ships, having on board an aggregate of 378 men. The capitana (or admiral's ship) was the *San Geronimo*, of which the captain and pilot-major was Pedro Fernandez de Quiros,* and the almiranta,† as the ship of the almirante or vice-admiral was called, was the *Santa Isabel*, commanded by Lope de Vega, the two other vessels being the *San Felipe* and *Santa Catalina.* ‡

The expedition sailed from Payta on 16th June, 1595, and on the 21st July, when 1060 leagues from Lima, sighted an island to which Mendana gave the name of La Madalena, and which was visited by Captain Cook in his second voyage round the world.

Mendana discovered to the north-west three other islands, to which were given the names of San Pedro, Santa Christina, and Dominica, forming portions of the group to which the Adelantado ('Excellency') gave the name of the Marquesas de Mendoza in honour of the

* Quiros wrote an acccount of the voyage in a letter addressed to Antonio de Morga, Governor of the Philippine Islands, who published it in his history of those islands printed in Mexico in 1609. Another account appears in vol. vi. of the History of Don Garcia, Marquis de Canete, then Viceroy of Peru, printed at Madrid in 1613. Dalrymple and Burney have also published a translation of Quiros's account in their admirable and exhaustive works on the discoveries of the Spanish navigators in the Pacific, to which we are greatly indebted for our materials.

† The word is derived from the Saracens, as is our title of Admiral from the Spanish Almirante. D'Herbelot in his 'Bibliothèque Orientale' derives it from 'mir,' an abbreviation of emir, or ameer, which signifies chief or prince. 'Al' is the article 'the.'

‡ It is surprising how uninventive the Spanish and Portuguese were in their choice of names for ships and places, even though they drew their inspiration only from the Romish Calendar of Saints.

Marquis de Canete, Viceroy of Peru, and which are now known as the Marquesas. On the 28th July the ships anchored in a harbour in Santa Christina named Port Madre de Dios, and Mendana landed accompanied by his wife. On the 5th August the squadron sailed, having come into conflict with the natives here as well as at Madalena; and on the 20th, having then sailed by dead reckoning 400 leagues, in the tenth parallel of south latitude, discovered four small islands, which Mendana named San Bernardo,* and on the 29th sighted another about a league in extent, which was called Solitaria. All went well with the ships until the night of the 7th of September, when the *Santa Isabel* disappeared, and nothing more was ever seen of her.

These voyages of the old discoverers are remarkable for the great loss of life experienced during their prosecution, and the list of ships wrecked and foundered since America was discovered and the Cape of Good Hope rounded, more especially during the voyages of circumnavigation from the time of Magellan, of whose squadron only one ship returned, shows an appalling waste of human life. And yet the loss is not without compensation, like the long and wasting wars of which each European nation has to mourn the constant recurrence in its history; for here various races of the great human family are brought within the influences of civilisation, and the sacrifice of life, however lamentable, results in great gain to posterity. The fate of the *Santa Isabel* was, doubtless, like that of Tennyson's *Good Fortune* and many another ship whose

* These islands are supposed to be the same, in 165° 42′ W., that were sighted in 1765 by Commodore Bryan, who called them the islands of Danger. This island of Solitaria, according to Burney, is probably one of the Desventuradas of Magellan, in 170° 43′ W.

course has lain among the thickly-lying isles of the Pacific.

'At first indeed
Thro' many a fair sea-circle, day by day
Scarce rocking, her full-busted figure-head
Stared o'er the ripple feathering from her bows:
Then follow'd calms, and then winds variable,
Then baffling, a long course of them; and last
Storm, such as drove her under moonless heavens
Till hard upon the cry of "breakers" came
The crash of ruin, and the loss of all.'

Soon after the loss of the *Santa Isabel*, Mendana sighted a large island about 100 leagues in circuit, which was called Santa Cruz, and a smaller one about eight leagues to the northward, to which the name of Volcano Island was given. The three ships anchored in a convenient port, and opened communications with the natives, who were at first friendly, but through some misunderstandings became hostile, when many of them fell beneath the fire of the weapons of civilisation.

On the 21st September Mendana removed his ships to an inner port he named Graciosa Bay, which was visited in 1767 by the *Swallow*, Captain Carteret, who laid down the west side of Santa Cruz Island in his chart of Queen Charlotte's Islands. Two days later a settlement was formed here, but great sickness broke out among the people, many of whom died, among them being Mendana, who, on the 17th October, the day preceding his decease, appointed as his successor his wife, Dona Isabel Berreto, her brother, Don Lorenzo Berreto, being Captain-General. But on the 2nd November, the latter himself expired from a wound in the leg received in a severe action fought with the natives. The scheme of founding a settlement was now abandoned, and on the 18th November the ships sailed to the west-

ward for the island of Santa Christoval, in the Solomon group, the original object of the voyage, but not seeing it, the course was altered for Manilla. On the 23rd December an island was discovered in 6° N., described by Quiros as 'twenty-five leagues in circumference, covered with trees and very populous.' They continued their course without anchoring, and on the 3rd January, 1596, sighted two of the Ladrone Islands, whence they steered for the Philippines, where they arrived on the 10th February, in a state of great distress. The *San Geronimo* lost fifty men in the passage from Santa Cruz, forty having perished at that island. The *San Felipe*, galiot, lost heavily, and the *Santa Catalina*, like the *Santa Isabel*, never reached port, but was found stranded on the coast, with her sails set and all her people dead from famine or sickness. Thus disastrously ended this expedition which left Payta only seven months before.

The pilot-major, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, far from being daunted by the terrible sufferings he had undergone, on his return to Lima, presented to the viceroy two memorials, the substance of which is given by Figueroa, applying for ships and men to prosecute Mendana's enterprise and make more discoveries, and expressing his views of the existence of a continent stretching from New Guinea to the Straits of Magellan, an opinion held by that great hydrographer, Dalrymple,*

* See Alexander Dalrymple's book, of which Captain Burney speaks as his vade-mecum in compiling his great work, entitled 'An Historical Collection of the several Voyages in the South Pacific Ocean,' and also an account of 'The Spanish Discoveries before 1595.' Dalrymple says in the introduction to this work, dated October 7, 1769, that from early life he was 'inflamed with the ambition to do something to promote the general benefit of mankind,' and 'the first and most striking object of research was the discovery of a Southern Continent.'

nearly two centuries later, until Cook's discoveries dispelled the illusion.

Don Luis de Velasco, who had recently removed from Mexico to Peru in succession to the Marquis de Canete, sent Quiros to Spain with letters to the king approving the project, which, however, slumbered for a period of ten years. Meanwhile other voyages were undertaken and discoveries made. The government of Mexico, or New Spain as it was called, having resumed the intention of founding a settlement on the American coast to the north of California, for the convenience of the navigation from the Philippine Islands, in 1595, a ship named the *San Augustin* explored the coast and discovered the port of San Francisco, where she was wrecked. In the following year, the Conde de Monterey, successor in the viceroyalty to Velasco, despatched from Acapulco three vessels, to continue the exploration of the Gulf of California, under the command of Sebastian Vizcaino.

The squadron reached the isles of Mazatlan, where fifty men deserted, and then proceeded to Santa Cruz, where a settlement was established on the site of the colony planted by the Marquis del Valle. About fifty leagues from this place fifty men, landed from the *Almiranta*, were attacked by the natives, when nineteen Spaniards were killed or drowned by the upsetting of the boat. In consequence of the failure of supplies, Vizcaino abandoned the settlement in October, and returned to Mexico.

In 1598, the year in which Philip II. died, the Government of the United Provinces—which had, in 1594-96, employed ships under William Barentz in seeking a passage to China by Spitzbergen, and in 1595 and 1598 had despatched ships to the East Indies by the Cape route—appeared in the Pacific, resolved to rival

the Portuguese and Spanish in their discoveries; and the merchants of the provinces newly liberated from the yoke of Spain, sought to acquire some of the riches which flowed into the coffers of the East and West India Companies of those countries. Accordingly, in the year 1598, two important expeditions were despatched from Holland. One consisted of five ships, fitted out by the city of Rotterdam: the *Hope*, 500 tons, and 130 men, commanded by Jacob Mahu, who was admiral of the fleet, the chief-pilot being William Adams, an Englishman; the *Charity*, 300 tons, and 110 men, Simon de Cordes, vice-admiral; the *Faith*, 320 tons, and 109 men, Gerard Van Benningen; the *Fidelity*, 220 tons, and 86 men, J. Van Bockholt; and the *Good News*, yacht, of 150 tons, and 56 men, Sebald de Weert.

The fleet, which was intended by its promoters, a body of merchants, as much to pillage the Spanish possessions in Chili and Peru as to make discoveries, sailed from Goree, in Holland, on the 27th June, 1598; and, on the 23rd September, while on the passage from the Cape de Verde Islands to the coast of Guinea, Jacob Mahu died, and was succeeded by Simon de Cordes, Van Benningen, now vice-admiral, exchanging into the *Charity;* and Sebald Von Weert, who was succeeded by Dirck Gherrity, taking command of the *Faith.* On the 2nd January, 1599, they sailed from the Portuguese settlement at the island of Annabon, and on the 6th April entered the Straits of Magellan. Valuable time was lost in threading the passage, and westerly winds setting in, the squadron was detained in a bay on the north shore, they called after De Cordes, for over five months, during which time they suffered greatly from privation and sickness, and above 120 men died, includ-

ing Captain Bockholt. On the 23rd August, the fleet, including a shallop of sixteen tons, named the *Postilion*, set up in the Straits, got under weigh, and, on the 3rd September, entered the South Sea. On the 10th, the fleet became separated, and De Cordes made for the rendezvous at 46° on the coast of Chili, where, says Adams, the *Hope* arrived on the 29th October. After a stay here of twenty-eight days, which was agreed on in case of separation, De Cordes sailed for the second rendezvous at the island of Santa Maria, and early in November anchored near a point of the mainland opposite the island. Here the admiral and twenty-three men who had landed for provisions, were treacherously attacked and killed by the natives. At Santa Maria, the *Hope* found the *Charity*, which had arrived four days before from the island of Mocha, where the Vice-Admiral Van Benningen and twenty-seven of his men had been murdered. As the other vessels did not arrive, on the 27th November the two ships, with a pinnace that had been set up, sailed for Japan, for the purposes of trade. On the night of the 23rd February, 1600, they lost sight of each other, and nothing more was heard of the *Charity*.

Mention is made by Adams of an island he calls Una Colunna (a column), which they sighted on the 24th March; and on the 19th April the *Faith* anchored near Bungo, in the Japanese group, the crew then numbering only twenty-four men, seventeen of whom were sick. The emperor would not suffer the ship to leave, but treated the people with kindness, and sent for Adams to Osaka, about eighty leagues distant, whither the ship was afterwards removed. This was the commencement of the Dutch trade with Japan, which subsequently became a monopoly, the Portuguese being expelled from

the islands. Some of the seamen entered the service of the emperor, others were permitted to build a vessel in which to leave the country; but Adams was compelled to remain, though he was treated with great consideration by his royal master, for whom he built a second ship. He found opportunities to send letters to England, as two appear in Purchas's 'Pilgrimes,' one bearing date 22nd October, 1611, and the other being undated. Adams, who was the means of procuring special privileges for the English and Dutch navigators, died at Firando, where Captain Saris, of the English East India Company, established a factory in 1613, and notice of his death was brought to England by the *James* in 1621.

The *Good News*, commanded by Gherrity, when separated from the fleet, was driven to 64° S. lat., where they stated they 'discovered a high country, with mountains covered with snow,' and, when proceeding to the rendezvous, was taken by the Spaniards at Valparaiso. In March, 1602, Olivier van Noort, in command of the *Mauritius*, when at Valparaiso, received a letter from him, written in the prison at Lima, giving an account of the miseries he and his men were enduring. The *Fidelity* (Captain Balthasar de Cordes) and *Faith* (Captain Sebald de Weert) remained together, and returned for shelter to the Straits. On the 8th December the *Fidelity* was forced from her anchors into the South Sea, proceeded along the coast of Chili and Peru, where she captured some Spanish prizes, and crossed the ocean to the Moluccas, where the Portuguese seized her. The *Faith*, which at this time had only thirty-eight men, seventy having died since leaving Holland, returned on the 15th December to the Bay de Cordes, where she was joined by the second Dutch fleet, which had sailed

for the East Indies under the command of Olivier van Noort.

The ships sailed in company on the 20th, but the *Faith* was left astern, and returned to the Bay de Cordes, where, on the 1st January, 1600, two boats arrived with Van Noort, who returned to his ships on the following day. On the 11th January De Weert proceeded to the Penguin Islands, near the eastern entrance of the Straits, and ten days later sailed on his return to Holland. De Weert sighted the islands now known as the Falkland group, discovered by Captain John Davis in 1592, which from this circumstance were sometimes called the Sebaldine Islands. On the 13th July the *Faith* arrived at Goree, after an absence of two years and sixteen days, during which she had discovered and accomplished nothing, having only just entered the South Sea. But the survivors of her crew were more fortunate than their countrymen, for none of the other five ships reached home.

Olivier van Noort, already mentioned, sailed from Goree on the 13th September, 1598, with the double object of trade in the East Indies and aggression on the Spanish possessions on the west coast of America, against which the attacks of English adventurers, such as Drake and Cavendish, had been directed, the great galleon from Acapulco and other treasure ships being chiefly sought after. Van Noort sailed with the following vessels, in which were embarked 248 men: the *Mauritius* and *Hendrick Fredrick*, Jacob Claesz vice-admiral; and yachts *Eendracht* (*Unity*), Pieter Esias de Lindt, and *Hope*, Jan Huydecooper. The squadron embarked at Plymouth, as pilot, an Englishman named Melis (or Mellish), who had sailed in that capacity with Cavendish, and on the 11th December anchored at

Prince's Island, where they were involved in hostilities with the Portuguese, in which they lost seven men killed (including Cornelius van Noort, the admiral's brother, and Melis) and sixteen wounded. On the 17th they sailed, having only procured a supply of fresh water, and on the 3rd February arrived off the coast of Brazil, but, owing to the opposition of the Portuguese, lost several men in unavailing attempts to obtain supplies at many places where they landed. On the 20th March they steered for St. Helena, as the approach of winter rendered it undesirable to attempt the passage of the Straits of Magellan; but they missed the island, and on the 2nd June anchored off the island of Santa Clara* on the Brazilian coast, where they landed and recruited their sick, and remained without being disturbed by the Portuguese.

On the 21st June the *Eendracht*, being unseaworthy, was burnt, and the three other vessels sailed for the island of San Sebastian, where they arrived on the 30th. On the 9th July they left for Port Desire, which they reached, after a stormy passage, on the 20th September. Here the ships were careened, and three men were killed by the natives; and here, on the 5th October, the captain of the *Hope* died, and Pieter de Lindt was appointed to the command of that vessel, which received the name

* While lying here, the constable of the flagship, and gunner of the *Eendracht*, having been guilty of mutiny, were sentenced 'to be abandoned in any strange country where they could hereafter be of service;' and another mutineer was punished in accordance with a provision of the naval code, mentioned by Olaus Magnus in his 'De Punitione Rebellium Nautarum,' by which anyone attacking the captain or pilot with a sword, or injuring the compass, should have 'the hand he mostly employs pinned to the mast or main timber of the ship with a dagger or knife, until he shall withdraw his hand so fastened by slitting it through the middle.'

of *Eendracht.* Having laid in a stock of penguins and seals, which were cured, the squadron sailed on the 29th October, and on the 22nd November, having been forced back by gales of wind, entered the Straits of Magellan for the fourth time; on the 25th they anchored off the two Penguin Islands, when they cruelly massacred forty natives who, with their wives and children, had taken refuge in a cavern on the side of a hill; of the latter, four boys and two girls were taken on board the ships. Van Noort sailed on the 1st December, and, anchoring at various ports, on the 15th was joined, at a bay he named Olivier, after himself, by Sebald de Weert. They sailed again on the 18th, and brought to on the 22nd in a large bay on the south side of the Strait, which was named Mauritius; but De Weert's ship, not being able to keep company, bore away for Cordes Bay, and Van Noort refusing to supply him with bread, he returned to Holland.

Van Noort had at this time under his command 149 men, having lost no less than ninety-nine since his departure from Holland, including two killed by the natives on the 8th January. The ships sailed from Mauritius Bay on the 14th January, 1600, but were unable to clear the Straits. On the 26th, Jacob Claez, the vice-admiral, being convicted of insubordination by a court-martial, was landed, with a small stock of bread and wine, at Guesen Bay, near Cape Upright. De Lindt was appointed vice-admiral in his place, and Lambart Biesman was placed in command of the *Eendracht.*

The fleet sailed on the 28th January from Guesen Bay, and finally, on the 29th February, entered the South Sea, after the lapse of nearly eighteen months since leaving Holland.

On the 12th March the *Hendrick Fredrick* parted

company, and nothing more is mentioned of her; and on the 21st the admiral's ship and the yacht anchored off the island of Mocha. After a stay here of three days, during which they traded amicably with the natives, Van Noort, in the hope of meeting the vice-admiral, proceeded to the rendezvous, Santa Maria, where he captured a Spanish ship; but, having run considerably to the northward of that island in the chase, all intention to proceed thither was abandoned, and he bore up for Valparaiso, where he destroyed some vessels, but obtained no booty. On the 1st April, Van Noort anchored near the river of Guasco, and, having refitted his vessels, sailed with them and two prizes on a buccaneering voyage along the Spanish coast. On the 20th May, a course was steered for the Philippine Islands, stopping on the way at the Ladrones, which were reached on the 15th September, the two prizes having been abandoned on the passage. On the 15th October they anchored in a bay in the south-east part of Luzon. By feigning that his ships were French, Van Noort obtained a supply of provisions, and sailed for the island called Capul, where they landed men and burnt some villages.

On the 1st November he sailed thence for Manilla, making prizes of several Spanish and Chinese vessels on the way. One of the latter, however, managed to escape with its prize crew of six men, who, it was supposed, were all murdered by the Chinamen. On the 24th November Van Noort arrived off the Bay of Manilla, where he remained, capturing and destroying vessels making the port of Cavete. On the 14th December two Spanish ships fitted as men-of-war, having on board a large force of men under the command of Antonio de Morga, the Lieutenant-governor and Judge (noted also as the historian of the Philippine Islands),

came out of port to engage the *Mauritius* and *Eendracht*, which at this time had crews respectively of fifty-five and twenty-five men. A severe action ensued, during which the Spaniards were masters of the deck of the *Mauritius*, but were ultimately repulsed by the brave Dutchmen, who opened fire again with their cannon and sank the admiral's ship, slaughtering those of the crew that sought refuge with them or swam about the sea. Others were taken to the shore by native boats. In this action the Spanish lost in killed fifty men, according to De Morga's confession, and the *Mauritius* five killed and twenty-six wounded. The *Eendracht* was captured by the Spanish almiranta, and taken to Manilla, where Captain Lambart Biesman and all his crew were executed as pirates.

Van Noort steered for the island of Borneo, and anchored in the port of that name on the 26th December. On the 5th January the *Mauritius* sailed for Europe, and, touching at Java and St. Helena, anchored at Rotterdam on the 26th August, after an absence of nearly three years, thus being the first Dutch ship to circumnavigate the globe, and the only one of the nine that sailed in the year 1598 to accomplish that design.

In 1600 the *San Geronimo*, Mendana's ship in his second voyage, and the *Santa Margarita* sailed from Manilla for New Spain, but in lat. 36° N., when 600 leagues from the port of departure, the ships were disabled, and on their return voyage the former was wrecked on the Catandreanes, and the *Santa Margarita* having put in at the Ladrones, was captured and plundered by the natives. On the 5th May, 1602, Sebastian Vizcaino sailed from Acapulco with four ships—the *San Diego*, capitana; *Santo Tomas*, almiralta, Torribio

Gomez de Corvan; *Los Tres Reyes*, Martin de Aguilar, and a shallop, with the object of continuing the exploration of California and the coast to the northward for the use of the ships proceeding to the Philippines. Crossing the entrance of the Gulf of California, Vizcaino arrived, on the 11th June, in a bay which he called San Bernabe, situated on the eastern side of the Cape de San Lucas, being the same where Cavendish had anchored with his prize the *Santa Anna* in 1587. Here the shallop was broken up, and on the 5th July, Vizcaino, having been driven back four times by head-winds, sailed to the northward, and on the 20th arrived at a port he named De la Magdalena, which Burney identifies with the Bay of San Abad of Francisco de Ulloa. On the 28th the capitana and *Tres Reyes* proceeded to the northward, and having named some islands, La Asuncion and San Roque, a headland, Sierra Pintada, a harbour, Port San Bartolomé, arrived on the 25th August at the island De Cedros (discovered by Ulloa), where they were joined by the *almiranta*. On the 9th September Vizcaino again sailed, visited bays he named San Simon-y-Judas (where he came into collision with the natives), and Todos los Santos, and the islands of San Martin, San Clemente, and Santa Catalina. The progress they made to the northward was very slow, owing to the wind blowing continuously from the north-west. On the 16th December the ships anchored in a port, in about 36° 38′ S., six leagues to the northward of Mount Santa Lucia, to which they gave the name of Monterey in honour of the Viceroy of Mexico. As in addition to sixteen men who had died there were many sick, on the 29th December Vizcaino sent the *Santo Tomas* back to New Mexico with the latter, and sailed on the 3rd January, 1603, from Monterey, but near San Francisco he lost the company

of the *Tres Reyes*. On the 19th he was in 42° N. lat., and named after himself a cape, Blanco de San Sebastian, which is situated a little to the north of Cape Mendocino. Thence he returned to the southward, and on the 1st February arrived at Mazatlan, whence the ship proceeded to Acapulco. Martin de Aguilas proceeded in the *Tres Reyes* as far as 42° 50′ N., where he called a Cape, Blanco de Martin de Aguilar, to which Vancouver gave the name of Cape Orford. On the return to New Spain, both the captain and the pilot, Antonio Flores, died. The examination of the coast between Capes San Lucas and Mendocino had been minute and accurate, and Vizcaino's chart was of great service to succeeding navigators.

In 1605, ten years after the famous and disastrous voyage of Mendana, in which he acted as pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros obtained from Philip III. an order, directed to Monterey, the Viceroy of Peru, to furnish him with two ships to prosecute discoveries in the Pacific. Some years before this, in February 1600, according to an account given to Hakluyt, which is published in vol. iv. of 'Purchas his Pilgrimes,' four ships, under one Mestizo, sailed from Lima towards the Philippines, and being driven by adverse winds to the southward, 'fell in with divers rich countries and islands, as it seemeth, not far from the isles of Solomon.' Whether this refers to a voyage supposed to have been made by De Quiros between the years 1595 and 1605, or to that of some other navigator, cannot be decided with certainty; but we will now proceed to give a brief account of the voyage undertaken in the latter year by this famous discoverer.*

* An account of this remarkable voyage has been written by Torquemada in the 'Monarquia Indiana' (book iii. chap. lxiv.), who

Quiros sailed from Callao on the 21st December, 1605, with two ships, the *almiranta* being commanded by Louis Vaez de Torres, and a small tender called a zabra, which were all specially built and equipped for the voyage. In order to discover the southern continent he steered west-south-west 800 leagues to 26° S., and then directed his course west-north-west, until on the 26th January, 1606, he discovered in 24° 30′ S. (according to De Torres) a small sandy island. Continuing to sail to the westward they sighted several low, uninhabited islands, to which names were given, though these differ in the accounts given by Quiros and De Torres. On the 10th February the first inhabited island was discovered, and Quiros called it Sagittaria, which is generally identified with Tahiti (though he describes it as low, which it is not), visited by our countrymen, Captain Wallis in 1667, and Captain Cook two years later.

After a stay of two days, during which a communication was opened with the natives, Quiros steered west-north-west and discovered within sight of Sagittaria a second island, supposed to be Tethuroa, also of the Society group. On the 21st, a cluster of small islands was passed, which appear in Quiros's list under the name of La del Peregrino (of the Pilgrim), and thence, owing to the difficulty of procuring fresh water, the course was directed for Santa Cruz. On the 2nd March a lagoon island was discovered which Quiros called De la Gente Hermosa* (the island of handsome people),

was living in Mexico at the time. Quiros wrote many memorials, two of which are published in Purchas, one in Spanish, and the other in English; and Dalrymple has also given translations of these in vol. i. of his 'Collection of South Sea Voyages,' and of a short account written by Louis Vaez de Torres, second in command to Quiros.

* Burney is of opinion that this island is the same as the San Bernardo of Mendana, and the islands of Danger of Commodore Byron, (See vol. ii. p. 325.)

though Torres says 'we named it Matanza' (the island of slaughter), because many of the natives were killed in opposing the landing of the Spaniards. They now steered to the west a period of thirty-two days without seeing land; but on the 7th April an island was sighted —distant, according to Torres, 1940 leagues from Lima— which was named Taumaco. On the 9th a landing was effected on the island, and the crews refreshed themselves after their long confinement on ship-board. Much information was gathered from the natives, and one of the chiefs named Tumay, says Quiros, 'named sixty islands and a large country which he said was named Manicolo,' an island that was visited in 1774, in his second voyage, by Captain Cook, who calls it Mallicolo.

Having procured a sufficiency of fresh water and recruited his crews, Quiros sailed on the 19th April in quest of the great country mentioned by Tumay, taking with him, by force, four natives* to act as guides and interpreters for the two ships, a base return for all the hospitality he had received. On the 21st, an island was discovered, to which Quiros gave the name of Tucopia; and continuing his course towards the south, on the 25th other islands were seen, one of which having a volcano was called Nuestra Señora de la Luz (Our Lady of the Light). Steering to the west they arrived on the 27th April at a populous island to which was given the name of Santa Maria. Torres says in the 'Monarquia Indiana': 'In sight and around Santa Maria there are many islands, high and large, and to

* One of these men cast himself into the sea on the following day when the ship was four leagues distant from Taumaco, and on the 21st of April two others escaped to the neighbouring island of Tucopia. The fourth, who remained, received the name of Pedro.

the southward, one so large that we sailed for it.' On the 30th April he arrived at this island, and on the following day an examination was made, and the ships entered a large bay, which was called San Felipe-y-Santiago. On the 3rd, a convenient port was found in lat. 15° 20′ S., which received the name of de la Vera Cruz, the two rivers between which it was situated being called Jordan and Salvador.

Quiros, in the belief that he had discovered the Southern Continent, the great dream of his life, named the land Australia del Espiritu Santo, and in his 'Memorial' (see vol. iv. of Purchas), writes in extravagant terms of its capabilities and beauty. The island of Australia del Espiritu Santo, now known as New Hebrides, was not again visited by an European until the year 1768, when the French navigator, Bougainville, fell in with the southern part; and six years later, Captain Cook, while on his second voyage, circumnavigated the island, and entered the port San Felipe-y-Santiago, which he describes with that absence of all exaggeration which distinguished the greatest of navigators. The Spaniards landed on the 4th May, and took possession of the country.

Owing to the ill-judged arrogance which always characterised them in their dealings with natives, they came into collision with the natives, of whom several, including the chief, were killed, and were unable to establish friendly relations during the remainder of their stay. Early in June the ships sailed, but were driven back by contrary winds, and finally, for reasons not satisfactorily specified, but probably owing to the mutinous conduct of the crew Quiros sailed alone on the 11th June, and missing the island of Santa Cruz, steered for New Mexico, and arrived at Port de la Navidad in the middle of October.

Quiros made his way to Spain, and presented no less than fifty memorials to Philip III., soliciting permission to explore and colonise Australia del Espiritu Santo. He stated that he had traversed 20,000 leagues of sea, had spent large sums during fourteen years while thus occupied, and enumerated twenty-three islands he had discovered. In one memorial he said: 'By all that I have mentioned it appears clearly that there are only two large portions of the earth severed from this of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The first is America, which Christopher Colon discovered; and the second and last of the world is that which I have seen and solicit to people and completely discover for your majesty.' His statement was received with incredulity, and his discoveries were regarded as mythical, but at length his importunity was rewarded with success, and he was directed to proceed to Lima, where the Viceroy of Peru would furnish him with ships, but he died at Panama.

Torres searched for the capitana in vain, and remained in the Bay of San Felipe-y-Santiago until near the end of June, when he sailed round the land, which he discovered to be an island, and then proceeded to the south-west. Not meeting with any land he steered a north-westerly course to 11° 30′ S., in which latitude he fell in with a country which he believed to be 'the beginning of New Guinea.' He sailed westward a distance of 300 leagues, along the south side of New Guinea, to 9° S., when he fell in with a bank which extended 180 leagues along the coast. This he followed to 7° 30′ S., and then south-west to 11° S., where he saw large islands, and more to the southward, when he again stood towards the mainland to the north. For two months Torres was employed in intricate navigation on this bank, and he says, 'at the end of that time we were in twenty-five fathoms in 5°

S. lat., and ten leagues distant from the coast. And having gone 480 leagues (the 300 and 180 before mentioned), here the coast goes to the north-east.'

The island seen by Torres in 11° S. was the northern extremity of Australia, named by Captain Cook, Cape York. By a strange coincidence a Dutch vessel, the *Duyfhen*, which sailed from Bantam on the 18th November, 1605, proceeded along the coast of what was supposed to be New Guinea to nearly 14° S., thus being the first to explore the coast of Australia. Captain John Saris, of the English East India Company's Service, being at the time at Bantam, mentions that, on the 15th June, 1606, a man arrived from Banda, who 'told me that the *Flemming's* pinnasse, which went upon discovery for New Guinea, was returned to Banda, having found the island; but in sending their men on shore to intreat of trade, there were nine of them killed by the heathens, which are man-eaters, so they were constrained to return, finding no good to be done there.'*

This expedition is mentioned in the instructions given to Abel Tasman for his second voyage of discovery (in 1644), by the President and Council of Batavia; and a copy appears in the 'Collection of Papers concerning Papua,' by A. Dalrymple, from which we gather that the *Duyfhen* 'sailed by the islands Key and Arrow, and discovered the south and west coast of Guinea for about 220 miles,† from 5° to 13¾° S. lat. The farthest point of land was called in their map Cape Keer Weer.'

There is some evidence to prove that Australia was known to the Chinese, and Thevenot‡ remarks: 'The

* See 'Purchas his Pilgrimes,' vol. i. book iv. chap. ii.

† German miles, each equal to four geographical miles.

‡ See his 'Relations des divers Voyages curieux,' vol. i., preface, Paris, 1663.

Southern land which now makes a fifth part of the world, has been discovered at various times. The Chinese had knowledge of it long ago, for we see that Marco Polo marks two great islands to the south-east of Java, of which it is probable he learnt from the Chinese.' However this may be, the honour of first sighting the Australian Continent doubtless lies with the Dutch. In October, 1616, a ship named the *Eendracht*, commanded by Theodoric Hertoge, while proceeding to the East Indies from Holland, fell in with land about 25° S., which proved to be the west coast of Australia, and to which he gave the name of the Land of Eendracht.* Even up to the early portion of the present century, this designation was preserved in the charts, and also the names appear of Hertoge's Road and Cape. To proceed with Torres' voyage.

Torres stood along the coast of New Guinea, from 5°

* This discovery is mentioned in the instructions given to Abel Tasman, spoken of above. In Harris's work may be found a copy of an original map of Australasia made by order of the Dutch Government, in which Tasman's discoveries are depicted. The eastern coast of Australia is a blank, not even being marked in outline, as it was not explored until many years later by Captain Cook, but the northern, western and southern coasts are given with some claim to accuracy. South Australia is called therein 'Land of Peter Nuyt, discovered on 16th January, 1627.' Other points on the south-west and west coasts are marked as having been discovered by De Lenin in 1622, and by De Wit in 1628. The eastern coasts of Australia, which were first explored and mapped by Captain Cook, which we have referred to as having been visited by a Dutch vessel in 1606, the same year that Torres passed through the Straits called after him, are delineated in a large chart drawn on vellum in the year 1552, and in three French atlases, the most modern dated 1555, that of 1547 having also part of the western shore. It is probable, says Pinkerton, that the Portuguese made discoveries in these seas from the Spice Islands, including Australia, about the year 1530 (see vol. xvii. p. 27.) The continent was known in the map before the explorations of Cook as Terra Australis Meoguita and Great Terra Australis.

S. lat. to the north-north-west, above 130 leagues, where, he says, it terminated fifty leagues short of the Moluccas, to which he proceeded. After a lengthened stay at these islands, chiefly at Ternate, he left the tender here, and sailed for Manilla, where he arrived in May, 1607. Here he wrote his short 'Relation,' dated the 12th July (of which a translation is given by Dalrymple), which he sent to Philip III., but was unable to prosecute his researches, owing to his inability to obtain supplies.

The discoveries of Quiros and Torres place them in the front rank of navigators. The former brought to our knowledge the Society Islands, New Hebrides, and many other islands, and the latter passed through the Straits between New Guinea and Australia, which have received his name, and explored the neighbouring seas, though his account is too indefinite to afford much information, and in some parts appears to be incorrect.

CHAPTER II.

Expeditions equipped by the Dutch East India Company—The Voyage of Admiral Spilbergen—Schouten and Le Maire discover the Strait named after the latter, and also make other important Discoveries in the South Seas—Spanish Voyage under the Nodals—Expedition to the Pacific of the Nassau Fleet under L'Heremite—Dutch Expedition to explore the Coasts of Japan and Tartary—Tasman discovers the Island named after him, also New Zealand and other Islands—Captain Narborough's Voyage to the Pacific.

THOUGH in 1604 Spain concluded a peace with England, and in 1609 a truce for twelve years with the United Provinces, the active rivalry between these powers did not cease in the Eastern Seas, especially at the Moluccas. In the one case there yet rankled the memory of the monster Alva, and in the other that of the Armada,

> 'At whose burden
> The anger'd ocean foams.'

In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was established with exclusive powers for twenty-one years, and they built forts and factories at Ternate and others of the Spice Islands, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Spaniards and Portuguese united under one Crown. In 1614 the Company equipped a fleet consisting of the following ships, but neither the tonnage, number of crews, nor names of the commanders are given.* The *Zon* (Sun); the *Halve Maen* (Half-

* An account of this voyage is given in a journal with plans and charts, including an excellent one of the Straits of Magellan, by Jan

moon); the *Œolus*; the *Morghensterre* (Morning Star); the *Jagher* (Chaser), a galliot; and the *Zee-meew* (Sea-gull). The fleet, which was fitted to fight as well as trade, sailed from the Texel on the 8th August, and from the Isle of Wight on the 16th September. On the 20th December they anchored near Illa Grande on the coast of Brazil, when the sick were landed. On the 30th, as three boats were engaged taking in water at a point two leagues distant, they were attacked by the Portuguese, when the boats were captured and nearly all the people killed. Again, on the 31st January, 1615, four more sailors were killed while engaged procuring water. At length, on the 4th February, after having quelled a mutiny on board the *Halve Maen* and *Zee-meew*, and executed two of the conspirators, Admiral Spilbergen proceeded on his voyage. The fleet arrived off Cape Virgenes on the 8th March, and some of the ships gained the entrance of the Straits of Magellan; but others, including the *Zon*, were driven out to sea. A fresh mutiny broke out on board the *Zee-meew*, which was seized by the conspirators, but the ship was retaken, when the two chief mutineers were thrown overboard; however, on the 29th March, the ship was lost sight of, and did not again join company.

On the 6th April the remaining five ships were collected in the Bay of Cordes in the Straits, and sailing again on the 24th, they entered the South Sea on the 6th May. On the 25th the fleet anchored off the island of Mocha, and four days later, were near Santa Maria, whence they sailed on the 1st June to attack a Spanish fleet said to be in search of them. Admiral Spilbergen put in at Concepcion, Valparaiso, and Quintero, making some

Cornelius May, ship-master of the *Zon*, of which translations were published in different languages.

small captures, and on the 16th July encountered the Spanish fleet, consisting of eight vessels, the *Santa Maria*, capitana, Admiral Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, 24 guns and 460 men; *Santa Anna*, almiranta, Pedro Alvares de Pilgar, 14 guns and 300 men; *Carmel*, 8 guns and 250 men; *Santiago*, 8 guns and 200 men; *Rosario*, 4 guns and 150 men, and three small vessels. The action commenced at 10 p.m. on the 17th July, the firing of the guns and musketry on board the rival flagships being 'accompanied with the continual sounding of tambours and trumpets.' One of the small vessels was sunk, and on the following morning the fight was renewed, the brunt of the action being borne by the *Santa Maria* and *Santa Anna*, which latter was compelled to surrender, but had suffered so much from the enemy's fire that she sank, carrying with her the vice-admiral and many of her crew.

The Dutch, whose loss in this action was forty killed and nearly sixty wounded, arrived at Callao on the 20th, and sailed again to the northward on the 26th. On the 8th August the fleet arrived off Payta, which was plundered and burnt, and on the 11th October they anchored at Acapulco, a treaty being concluded with the governor, by which he agreed to supply the Dutch with provisions and water, they consenting to release the Spanish prisoners.

On the 18th Spilbergen sailed from Acapulco for the north-west, and on the 10th November anchored at Salagua, where the admiral landed with 200 men and had an encounter with the Spanish. On the 15th they arrived at Port de Navidad, where they watered without molestation, and proceeded thence as far as Cape Corrientes, when it was determined to leave the coast of New Spain and prosecute the voyage to the East Indies.

Accordingly, on the 2nd December, the course was directed for the Ladrone Islands, which they made on the 23rd January, 1616, several men having died during the passage. After a stay here of three days the fleet sailed for the Philippines, which they sighted on the 9th February, and anchored at the entrance of the Bay of Manilla towards the end of the month.

In the first week of March, Admiral Spilbergen captured many small vessels, Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese, and on the 10th he sailed for the Moluccas whither he learned the Spaniards had proceeded with ten ships and a large force to attack his countrymen.* On the 29th March he arrived at the island of Ternate, and was engaged in hostile operations against the Spanish possessions in the Moluccas until the end of the year, when he sailed with the *Amsterdam* and *Zeeland* for Holland, where he arrived on the 1st July, 1617.

During this voyage round the world, Spilbergen displayed not only courage and enterprise, but the virtues of a great commander, and his judicious management of the expedition is shown by the comparatively small loss he sustained in carrying out the undertaking. More pregnant with important geographical results was the succeeding voyage of circumnavigation made by Dutch officers.

The charter given by the States-General to the East India Company, conferred on them the exclusive privilege of trading with the East Indies by the routes round the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Straits of Magellan; but some merchants, Isaac le Maire of Amsterdam, Peter and Jan Clements Kies, and Jan Jansen

* It appears by May's journal that the Dutch East India Company had in the East Indies in July, 1616, 3000 troops, and 37 European ships, besides native craft.

Molenwerf, being persuaded of the existence of a passage round the coast of Tierra del Fuego, the termination of which on the eastern side had been ascertained as early as 1526, and again by Drake in 1578, formed the design of making the experiment, which, if successful, would open up to them the trade of India by a passage not interdicted. In response to their memorial, the States-General gave the required permission in a decree dated the 26th March, 1614, by which they acquired the privilege of making the first four voyages by the new passage. The new Company fitted out two vessels, the *Eendracht*, Captain Wilhelm Cornelius Schouten, of 360 tons, carrying nineteen guns and sixty-five men; and the *Horne*, galiot, Captain Jan Schouten (brother of the 'Patron'), of 110 tons, carrying eight guns and twenty-two men. The conduct of the voyage was jointly confided to the supercargo and 'President,' Jacob le Maire (son of Isaac), who sailed in the *Eendracht*, and the captain of that ship, or 'Patron' as he was called, an experienced seaman, who had made three voyages to India; with Jan Schouten sailed Adrian Claesz as supercargo.

The ships sailed from the Texel, on the 14th June, 1615, and stopped at the Isle of Wight and Plymouth, whence they proceeded to sea on the 28th.* Touching at the Cape de Verde Islands and Sierra Leone, on the 6th December they sighted the American coast, and three days later anchored at the same spot in Port Desire where Van Noort stayed between 20th September and

* Several accounts of this voyage have been published, the most important being the 'Journal der Voyage De Schouten,' published in 1617, supposed to be written by Wilhelm Schouten, and the 'Navigation Australe de Le Maire,' published in 1622, in the interests of Le Maire. Of this, as of other voyages, accounts appear in the works of Harris, Dalrymple, Burney, Churchill, Pinkerton, etc.

29th October, 1599. The two vessels were both careened for cleaning, and on the 19th December the *Horne* accidentally caught fire and was destroyed. On the 13th January, 1616, the *Eendracht* sailed to the southward, and sighting the Falkland Islands—called at that time Davis Southern Islands, and the Isles of Sebald de Weert—on the 20th January had passed the entrance of the Straits of Magellan. Some discouragement was caused by finding that the land of Tierra del Fuego trended to the eastward, but on the 24th they discovered the new Strait which was named after Le Maire,* the land on the east side receiving the name of Staten Land, in honour of the States of Holland, and that on the west, forming the easternmost part of Tierra del Fuego, the name of Mauritius de Nassau. Steering along the latter coast, on the 29th they named some small rocky islets the Isles of Barnevelt, and the southern extremity of Tierra del Fuego they called Cape Horne, in honour of the town of Horne, in West Friesland, of which Schouten was a native. On the 31st, they had passed the Cape and were out of sight of land, having accomplished one of the greatest discoveries of the age.

The *Eendracht* continued to sail to the northward, and on the 1st March arrived off the islands of Juan Fernandez and Masafuero, whence they steered across the Pacific Ocean, with the intention, as was publicly stated to the crew, of visiting the Terra Australis, by which was meant the Australia del Espiritu Santo—or

* It was not until the 12th February, when they had again reached the latitude of the Straits of Magellan, that this name was given to the Strait in a formal resolution taking possession of the new discovery, signed by Le Maire, Schouten, and the pilots.

Southern Continent—of Quiros. In the words of a beautiful passage by the Poet Laureate:

> 'She slipt across the summer of the world,
> Then after a long tumble about the Cape
> And frequent interchange of foul and fair,
> She passing thro' the summer world again,
> The breath of heaven came continually
> And sent her sweetly by the golden isles
> Till silent in her oriental haven.'

On the 9th April, Jan Schouten, commander of the *Horne*, died, and on the following day a small, low, uninhabited island was discovered, to which was given the name of Honden, after three dogs seen upon it. On the 14th an inhabited island was seen, which was called Sondergrondt ('without bottom'); and on the 16th and 18th, two other islands, to which they gave the names of Waterlandt (on account of the water obtained there), and Vlieghen (from the flies), but these were low, sandy, lagoon islands. On the 8th May they overtook a vessel formed of two canoes, placed parallel to each other and covered with a platform, which was captured after a long chase, during which the Dutch repeatedly fired, killing several of the crew, which numbered about twenty-five persons, including eight women and many children; after this needless act of barbarity, by which curiosity was alone gratified, the surviving natives were released and permitted to depart in their vessel.

On the 10th May, two islands were sighted, which were called Cocos and Verraders, and at the former a brisk trade was carried on with the natives, who exchanged provisions for iron and other goods; but at length, when some fifty canoes, with about 1000 men, had surrounded the ship, they commenced an attack,

upon which they were quickly dispersed with a fire of cannon and musketry.

They quitted the Cocos Island on the 13th May, and on the following day, when thirty leagues distant, discovered another island about two leagues in diameter, to which the name of Goode Hope was given, where they had another encounter with fourteen canoes, which attempted to board the ship.

As they had not yet discovered the Southern Continent of Quiros, a council was held on the 18th May, and in accordance with the proposal of Schouten, the course was altered from west to north-north-west, in order that they might, so says that experienced navigator in his journal, 'pass by the north of New Guinea to the Moluccas,' as by the present course they would 'undoubtedly fall in with the south side of New Guinea, where it was uncertain whether any passage would be found,' by which it appears they had no knowledge of the discovery of the Straits of Torres. On the 19th May two islands were discovered in 14° 20′ S., which were named Horne or Hoorn,* in honour of the birthplace of Schouten, and a traffic was opened with the natives, which ended, as usual, in a quarrel and a recourse to firearms on the part of the Dutch seamen, but a peace was soon patched up, and the *Eendracht* was watered and provisioned, and her officers and crew treated with great hospitality. On the 31st, the ship sailed from the bay, which was named after her. On the 20th June, in 4° 50′ S. lat., they discovered a small cluster of six low islands; on the 22nd another group of

* These islands remained unvisited by a European ship until the year 1801, when Captain William Wilson, of the *Royal Admiral*, anchored in a bay on the south side of the northern island, supposed to have been the place visited by Le Maire and Schouten.

twelve or thirteen, which were named Marquen; and two days later a third cluster of three islands, to which the name of Groene was given; and about fifteen leagues distant, another island, which was called St. Jan. On the 25th, says Schouten, they 'saw before them to the south-west other land marvellously high, which was believed to be the Cape of New Guinea,' but which was the east cape of the land now known as New Ireland. They anchored in a small bay, where they got into collision with the natives, and sailed on the 28th along the coast towards the north-west. On the following day three high islands* were discovered to the north, five or six leagues from the mainland, from which some natives visited them; and continuing their course, they sighted, says Schouten, twenty-five islands lying close to each other.† On the 6th July, three or four volcanic mountains were seen, which were discovered to be islands with land extending behind them, and the latter was found to be the northern coast of New Guinea.

They continued their course along the coast, frequently coming into conflict with the natives, on one occasion fifteen seamen being wounded, and passed numerous islands, some of which were named Insou, Moa, Arimoa, St. Jaques, and a large island which was called after William Schouten. On the 5th August the ship anchored at Maba, the western part of Gillolo, one of the Moluccas, and on the 17th September she brought

* One of these islands is supposed by Burney to be the Garret Dennis (Gerrit Denys) of Dampier. See that officer's Journal, vol. iii. p. 222.

† This was the group which was visited, in 1767, by Captain Carteret, who named them the Admiralty Islands. Some of them also form the Mathias and Squally Islands of Dampier. Portions of the coast of New Ireland and New Guinea with the adjacent islands were visited by Tasman in 1643, and by Dampier in 1699, as well as by Carteret.

to at Maleya, in the island of Ternate, where they were welcomed by the Dutch governor, Laurens Real, and the admiral, Etienne Verhagen. The *Eendracht* had on board at this time eighty-five men in good health, including every man of her own crew who had sailed from Holland—a fact which is the best testimony to the skill and care of Le Maire and Schouten.

On the 26th September she sailed for Bantam, in the island of Java, and on the 16th October anchored at Japara, on the north side of that island, whence she proceeded to Jacatra. Here, on the 1st November, the ship was seized and confiscated by Jan Koenen, President of Bantam, and his council, in the name of the General East India Company, on the ground that they disbelieved the account of the discovery they had made of a new passage into the Pacific. Many of the crew entered into the service of the East India Company; Le Maire and his brother Daniel, Schouten, and ten men were embarked in one of their ships, the *Amsterdam*, and Adrian Claesz and ten more in another ship, the *Zeeland*, which sailed for Europe, under the command of Admiral Spilbergen, on the 15th December.

On the last day of the year Jacob le Maire died, at the early age of thirty-one, probably of chagrin at the treatment he had experienced, as no mention is made of disease. Of him J. Cornelius May, the historian of Spilbergen's voyage, says: 'Our admiral and all of us were greatly grieved, as he was a man gifted with rare experience in affairs of navigation.' The *Amsterdam* and *Zeeland* stopped at Mauritius and St. Helena, and arrived in Holland on the 1st July, 1617, two years and seventeen days after Le Maire and Schouten* sailed,

* Schouten died in the year 1625, at the Bay d'Antougil in Madagascar, being then on board a homeward-bound Dutch Indiaman, and was buried on shore at that place.

and two years and 228 days from the time of Spilbergen's departure.

The Spaniards, who were interested in verifying the discovery of a passage round the American Continent, by which direct trade could be conducted between Spain, Peru, and the Philippines, other than by the overland route through Panama, equipped two caravels of eighty tons, each carrying four guns and forty men, which were placed under the command of two brothers of the name of Nodal. The expedition sailed from Lisbon on the 27th September, 1618, and, passing the entrance of the Straits of Magellan, arrived at the Straits of Le Maire on the 22nd January, 1619. The brothers named one of the northern capes on the western shore, Cape de San Vicente, and, following the coast of Tierra del Fuego, named some rocky islets lying south-west from Cape Horn, after their chief pilot, Diego Ramirez. Passing along the west coast of Tierra del Fuego, they entered the Straits of Magellan from the South Sea, and on the 13th March arrived at the eastern entrance, having thus circumnavigated Tierra del Fuego. They now sailed for Spain, and on the 9th July the caravels anchored at San Lucar, the port of Seville, having completed their task of verifying the discovery of Le Maire and Schouten in the unprecedented brief time of nine months and twelve days.

Early in 1623, two years after the expiry of the twelve years' truce between Spain and Holland, two fleets were fitted out by the States-General and Prince Maurice of Nassau, with the object of attacking the Spanish possessions in Peru and Brazil, the latter of which was conducted with much spirit and success. The expedition against Peru was placed under the command of Admiral Jacob l'Heremite, the vice and rear admirals being

Schapenham and Verschoor, and consisted of eleven ships, carrying 294 guns and 1637 men, the ships of the admiral and vice-admirals each mounting forty-two guns, and having crews of 237 men. The Nassau fleet, as it was called, in compliment to Prince Maurice, sailed from Goree on the 29th April, 1623, and, visiting St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verde Islands, Sierra Leone (where forty-eight men died), and the islands of St. Thomas and Annabon, on the 2nd February, 1624, entered the Straits of Le Maire, guided by Valentin Jansz, who had sailed with the Nodals in 1618. The names of Verschoor and Valentin (also known respectively as the Bay de Buen Success, of the Nodals, and Port Mauritius) were given to two bays in Tierra del Fuego within the Straits, and on the 15th the fleet doubled Cape Horn.

The admiral now anchored in a bay he named Nassau, and on the following day removed to a cove on the west side of it, which he called Schapenham Bay. On the 23rd the fleet were driven out to sea by a violent tempest, leaving nineteen unarmed men on shore, and when they returned on the following day it was found that the natives had killed all but two, who had concealed themselves. The vice-admiral proceeded in a yacht to explore Tierra del Fuego, which he reported was 'divided into many islands; that Nassau Bay might be entered from the east, leaving Cape Horn to the south, and that he presumed the passages he saw from the bay were navigable into the Straits of Magellan.'

On the 27th February the fleet sailed, and by the middle of April all the ships had rendezvoused at Juan Fernandez. On the 13th they left for the coast of Peru, and arrived on the 8th May off Callao, when they

learned that the treasure fleet of five ships had sailed for Panama five days before. Between the 9th and 13th an attack was made on Callao, which was defended by a force of 300 soldiers, assisted by three ships of war; but it was conducted with such bad judgment by the vice-admiral, to whom the admiral had resigned the command, owing to illness, that the attempt was abandoned, and the fleet broke up into squadrons, four ships proceeding under Captain Jacobsz to attack the towns of Nasco and Pisco, and two under Rear-Admiral Verschoor against Guayaquil. At Pisco, the Dutch lost five killed and sixteen wounded, and at Guayaquil, which was captured by Verschoor, thirty-five were killed, the Spaniards losing 100 men slain, and seventeen prisoners, who were afterwards barbarously thrown into the sea by order of the rear-admiral, who abandoned the town, having first burnt it to the ground.

On the 2nd June, Admiral l'Heremite died, and on the 15th, Schapenham signalised his assumption of the chief command by hanging at the yard-arm of the *Amsterdam* twenty-one Spanish prisoners. He sailed with his whole fleet on the 14th August for the Isle de Lima off Callao, which had been the Dutch headquarters, and on the 25th anchored near the island of Puna, whence a second expedition of four ships was sent against Guayaquil, but was repulsed with the loss of twenty-eight men. On the 12th September, Schapenham again sailed, having first burnt the town of Puna, and on the 28th October arrived off Acapulco, whence the ships were dispersed along the coast to procure water and to pick up prizes. On the 29th November, the fleet, with the exception of two yachts, considered as unserviceable, quitted the coast of New

Mexico and steered for the Ladrone Islands,* one of which, Guahan, was sighted on the 25th January, 1624. At this date, the number of men in the ships, including thirty-two prisoners, was 1260, so that the total loss by the sword, disease, and desertion, was 409.

On the 11th February, the fleet sailed for the Moluccas, and early in March anchored at Ternate, where the ships, being appointed to different services, separated. Schapenham sailed for Europe in October, on board the *Eendracht*, but died near Bantam.

The Dutch fitted out a second expedition to prey upon Spanish commerce in Chili, and on the 6th November, 1642, three ships sailed from the Texel, under the command of Hendrick Bronwer, who had served as chief of the factory in Japan, and between the years 1632-36 as Governor of Batavia. They were joined at Pernambuco by two more ships, and on the 5th March came in sight of the Staten Land of Le Maire and Schouten, which they discovered to be an island, and not, as conjectured, part of a great Southern Continent. The squadron anchored in

* The first Spanish settlement of the Ladrone Islands was in the year 1668. Three years before, an order was sent to the Governor of the Philippines from the Queen Regent of Spain (mother of Charles II., and widow of Philip IV.), directing the despatch of a mission for the conversion of the islanders. Padre Diego de Sanvitores, the promoter of this mission, accompanied by five other priests and some lay assistants, left Manilla in August, 1667, and, proceeding first to Mexico, arrived by this circuitous route at Guahan, one of the Ladrone Islands, on 15th June, 1668. The name of the group was changed to the Marianas, but the appellation given by Magellan in consequence of the thievish propensities of the natives has clung to them. The missionaries were the pioneers of the soldiers, and in the month of August, 1681, arrived Antonio de Saravia, who had been appointed by Charles II. Governor-General over the entire group. On the following 8th September the islanders formally swore fealty to the crown of Spain.

Valentin's Bay, on the western side of the Straits Le Maire, whence they sailed, on the 25th March, for the island of Chiloe, off the coast of Chili. Hostile operations were now undertaken against the Spaniards, and Castro, the principal place in the island of Chiloe, which was founded in 1566, and was so named in honour of the Viceroy Lopez Garcia de Castro, was surrendered to them. On the 7th August, Bronwer died, and was succeeded by Elias Harckmans, who sailed for Valdivia, a place formerly containing 450 houses, but which had fallen into decay, when a league was formed with the natives against the Spaniards. A fort was built here, but the supply of provisions running short, the Dutch squadron re-embarked the soldiers, and on the 28th October sailed on their return to Pernambuco, where they anchored on the 28th December, the expedition being as fruitless, though not as disastrous, as that of the Nassau fleet against Peru.

In 1639, the Dutch Council at Batavia despatched two ships, under the command of Captain Matthys Kwast, 'to discover the East Coast of Great Tartary, and also the famous Gold and Silver Islands,' which were said to lie '400 leagues to the east of Japan.' Captain Kwast* failed in his mission, and in 1643, Van Diemen, Governor of Batavia, despatched two ships with the same instructions, under the command of Captain De Vries. The *Kastrikom* and *Breskens* sailed from Batavia on the 3rd February, and from Ternate on the 4th April, but were separated off the south-east Cape of Japan on the 20th May. Captain De Vries proceeded along the coast of Yesso, and passing through a strait he called after himself, named the island on the

* Captain Kwast was killed in the year 1641, in an engagement with a Portuguese galleon.

other side Compagnies Landt, and a small island in the Straits he called Staten. On the 31st July, he reached as high as 49° N., when contrary winds compelled him to return to the southward, and 'on the 3rd August their voyage towards Tartary ceased.'*

Leaving Japan on the 10th September, De Vries sailed eastwards in search of the 'Rich' Islands a distance of 450 Dutch miles, and thence returned to Tayowan, in Formosa, and Batavia. The *Breskens* (Captain Hendrick Cornelis Schaep), says Witsen, 'in the month of June sailed across the passage between Japan and Yesso,' and saw land in 47° 8′ N., whence she returned to the east coast of Japan. Here, about the end of July, the captain and ten men, who imprudently landed, were seized and sent prisoners to Jeddo, but were released on the 8th December. The *Breskens*, meanwhile, sailed to the eastward in search of the 'Gold and Silver Islands,' and returned in safety to Batavia.

In 1653 a Dutch ship named the *Sparwer* (Sparrow-hawk) sailed from Tayowan for Nagasaki; but she was wrecked on the island of Quelpaert, and her crew, sixteen in number, were carried into captivity to Korea.† On the 4th September, 1666, eight of them escaped in a small vessel, and on the 13th arrived at Nagasaki, where they found five Dutch ships, in which they returned to Batavia and Amsterdam, which they reached on the 20th July, 1668, having been in captivity, says Hamel, (described as secretary of the ship), thirteen years and twenty-eight days. In 1684 the Japanese

* See account of the voyage printed at Amsterdam in the year 1646, of which a translation appears in Part II. of Thevenot's 'Divers Voyages Curieux.'

† An account of this voyage is published by one of the sufferers, Hendrick Hamel, and a translation in English appears in Churchill's 'Collection of Voyages,' vol. vi.

king ordered that a voyage should be undertaken for the discovery of lands to the north of Yesso, and Kœmpfer, who was in Japan between the years 1690-92, gives an account of the information said to have been obtained. According to this writer, a few years later a second vessel 'sailed for the east coast of Japan, and, after many troubles and incommodities endured between 40° and 50° N. lat., they discovered a very large continent, which they supposed to be America.' This country was, doubtless, Kamtschatka.

In 1642 took place the voyage of Abel Jansen Tasman,* already referred to, which, for the importance of its discoveries, is scarcely exceeded by that of any navigator of the century. The governor and council of Batavia having fitted out two small vessels—the *Heemskirk* and *Zeehaan*—to prosecute the exploration of the land discovered by Hertoge in 1616, Tasman was appointed to the command, Gerrit Janszoon being in charge of the *Zeehaan*, and Francis Jacobsz chief pilot. The ships sailed on the 14th August, and after a visit to Mauritius, where they stopped between the 4th September and the 8th October, steered for the Solomon Islands. On the 24th November land was sighted in lat. 14° 30′ S., to which Tasman gave the name of Antony van Diemen, after the Governor of Batavia, the neighbouring islands being called after the members of the council, Messrs. Wits, Sweer, Maat, Zuijkers, and Boreels. Sailing round the southern part of the island, now known as Tasmania, after the discoverer, he named two islets Pedra Branca and Hooje Plomp Tore (from its resemblance to

* Many accounts of this remarkable voyage have been published, but all are based on Tasman's Journal, which contained thirty-eight charts and drawings, and was published at Amsterdam in 1674. Among other accounts are those in Valentyn's 'East Indian Descriptions' (vol. iii.), and in the works of Dalrymple and Burney.

a high misshapen tower), and on the 29th November, entered a bay, but was obliged to put out to sea owing to a storm having arisen, for which reason Tasman gave it the name of Stoorm Bay,* and a small island at the eastern end he called after himself.

On the 1st December they anchored in a bay of the newly discovered land, the inner portion of which is known as Frederick Hendrick's Bay, and on the 4th got under weigh, and, steering to the eastward, on the 13th December made an even more important discovery. This was the land now known as New Zealand, the Great Britain of the Southern Hemisphere, to which Tasman gave the name of Staten Land, in honour of the States-General, expressing in his journal a surmise that it might probably be joined to the Staten Land to the east of Tierra del Fuego, discovered and named by Le Maire and Schouten, thus constituting a part of the supposed great Southern Continent.

The ships anchored off the shore on the 14th December, and, on the following day, continued to sail along the coast; on the 17th they brought to again, and the next morning entered a bay in 40° 50′ S. lat., where they anchored. Here they saw the islanders, who came off in large numbers in their boats, described by Tasman as 'two narrow long canoes, fastened together, upon which boards were fixed to sit on.' As a boat of the *Zeehaan* was returning to her from the *Heemskirk*, with a quartermaster and six men, it was attacked by several of these canoes, and three men were killed and one mortally wounded, the quartermaster, who was knocked overboard, and two men succeeding in making their

* Captain Furneaux, Cook's companion, anchored here in 1773, and named it Adventure Bay; and nineteen years later it was explored by D'Entrecasteaux.

escape, when they were picked up by boats from the ships, which were unable, however, to overtake the canoes. After this first European experience of the treacherous and warlike New Zealanders, Tasman set sail from the bay, to which he gave the name of Moordenaars (murderers) Bay—which was changed by Captain Cook to Queen Charlotte's Sound—and continued to sail along the coast, anchoring at various points.

On the 6th January, 1643, Tasman sailed from an island he named Drie Koningen (Three Kings), on account of its being the day of the Epiphany, with the intention of proceeding to the 'eastward to long. 220°,* and then to steer north, and afterwards to get sight of the Cocos, and Hoorne Islands.' On the 19th January, a small high island was sighted in lat. 22° 55′ S., long. 204° 15′, which was called Pylstaart, or 'arrow-tailed,' the Dutch name for the Tropic bird. Continuing their course, on the following day other islands were discovered, to which the names of Middleburgh and Amsterdam were given, the native designation of the former being Eooa, and of the latter 'Tonga tabu,' whence the group received its name, which Captain Cook altered to the 'Friendly Islands.'

Tasman anchored off the north-west point of Amsterdam, at a place he called Van Diemen's Road, and the neighbouring bay he named Maria, after the wife of the Governor of Batavia. On the 24th January the ships weighed, and about three o'clock several other islands

* The longitude is reckoned eastward from the Peak of Teneriffe (which is 16° 46′ W. of the meridian of Greenwich). The distances in Tasman's Journal are set down in Dutch or German miles, of which fifteen measure one degree.

were sighted, at the largest of which, called by the natives Amamocka, and renamed by Tasman Rotterdam, they anchored. The expedition sailed again on the 1st February, and passing a small island, on the 6th sighted several small islands with many sand-banks and shoals around them, to which were given the names of Prins Willem's Islands and Heemskirk's shoals.*

The course was now steered in a northerly direction, and between the 8th February and 21st March no land was seen. On the 22nd Tasman sighted some islands he named Onthona Java, in about 4° 30′ S. and 158° 30′ E. from Greenwich, which had been seen by Le Maire and Schouten; and on succeeding days he saw other groups, Marqen, the Groene Islands, and St. Jan of Le Maire, and islands he called Gerrit Denys and Vischer (Fisher), also land supposed to be the coast of New Guinea, of which he named a headland Solomon Sweert's Hoek, after a Councillor of Batavia. He was now sailing in the track of Le Maire and Schouten, and made no more discoveries, but stopped at the islands of Jamna and Moa, and on the 15th June arrived at Batavia. During this voyage of fourteen months Tasman had made discoveries of the first magnitude—Tasmania, New Zealand, and the Friendly Islands, besides others of minor importance, and though fortune favoured him greatly, he may justly claim to be considered one of the most enterprising and able of navigators.

In 1644 Tasman undertook a second voyage 'to make more full discovery of New Guinea and of the unknown coasts of the discovered East and South

* Tasman places these islands and shoals in long. 4° 3′ to 5° 30′ W., which is 179° 45′ E. to 181° 12′ E. from the meridian of Greenwich.

Lands.'* No account has been published of this voyage, and hence it is supposed that but little additional geographical information was obtained. Mention should here be made of a discovery by a Spaniard, Don Francisco Lazeano, in the year 1686, of an island to which he gave the name of Carolina, in honour of Charles II. of Spain; though the identity of this island is not fixed, the name has since been applied to all the groups between the parallels of Guahan (in the Ladrones) and 5° N. lat., and eastward of the Philippines as far as 35°.

The next voyage to the South Seas from Europe, in chronological succession to those of the Nassau fleet and of Hendrick Brouwer, was made by an Englishman, Captain John Narborough,† who sailed for Chili from the Downs in command of H.M.'s ship *Sweepstakes*, on the 26th September, 1669, accompanied by the pink *Batchelour*, Mr. Humphrey Fleming. On the 24th February, 1670, Captain Narborough, whose mission was partly commercial and partly for discovery, anchored at Port Desire, having parted company with the pink, and

* In Dalrymple's 'Collections of Memoirs concerning the Land of Papua,' are published instructions dated 29th January, 1644, from the Governor and Council of Batavia to Tasman, both in the original Dutch and a translation in English. The South Land is the Terra Australis, which first received the name of Hollandia Nova, or New Holland, in the year 1665, when it appears to have been adopted by the Dutch Government for all the western side of Australia. In Tasman's instructions Torres' discovery is ignored, and New Guinea and Australia are spoken of as joined together.

† Captain Narborough's journal of this voyage was published in the year 1694, and a few years later Mr. John Wood, his master's mate (who in 1676 had been in command of a ship sent to make the north-east passage to Japan, but which was wrecked at Nova Zembla), published a narrative under the misleading title of 'Captain Wood's Voyage through the Straits of Magellan,' in which Captain Narborough's name nowhere appears.

found on shore a post with an inscription on a piece of sheet-lead, signed by Le Maire and Schouten, to the effect that the *Eendracht* and *Hoorn* had arrived here on the 8th December, 1615, and the former had left on the 10th January following. On the 25th March Captain Narborough took possession of the harbour and river of Port Desire in the name of Charles II., and sailed on the same day for Port San Julian, where he arrived on the 2nd April. On the 16th September he returned to Port Desire, whence he again sailed on the 13th October, and passing through the Straits of Magellan, to many islands and points in which he gave English names, entered the South Seas on the 19th November.

Steering along the coast of Patagonia and Chili, he visited the island of Socorro in 45° S., which he named after himself, and arrived at Valdivia on the 17th December. On the following day the Spaniards seized a lieutenant and three men belonging to his ship, and on the 22nd he sailed on his return to England. After recruiting at Fort Famine between 11th January and 4th February, he passed through the Straits of Magellan, and arrived off the Lizard on the 10th June without any noteworthy incident. This voyage, though unproductive of any accession to geographical knowledge, was of utility to the navigator, as Captain Narborough made an excellent chart of the Straits of Magellan, and his remarks served as a sailing directory to the Straits and coast of Patagonia.

In the year 1671, some Dutch and British merchants despatched two vessels, which proceeded to the South Sea by the Straits of Le Maire, and disposed of their cargoes at Guayaquil and other ports in Chili, Peru, and Mexico.

CHAPTER III.

The Buccaneers and Filibusters—Early Buccaneer Chiefs—The Career of Sir Henry Morgan—The Expedition against Darien and in the South Seas under Captain Sharp—Doings of the French Filibusters—The Cruise of the *Revenge* under Captain Cook—The Story of William, the Mosquito Indian, at Juan Fernandez—The Operations of the Buccaneers and Filibusters against the Spaniards—The Careers of Captains Davis, Swan and Dampier—Final Dispersion of the English Buccaneers.

A VOLUME might well be filled with the adventures of the buccaneers, those famous sea-rovers and pirates who lived by plundering Spanish possessions and ships, and, what was worse, disgraced themselves by the most revolting cruelties, oftentimes murdering whole ships' companies on the axiom that 'dead men tell no tales.' A halo of romance has been reflected upon the deeds of these lawless freebooters, who with the pirates have divided the sympathies of readers of the 'Corsair':

> 'Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
> Survey our empire, and behold our home!
> These are our realms, no limits to their sway—
> Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey.
> Ours the wild life in tumult still to range,
> From toil to rest, and joy in every change.'

Truth, however, compels us to own that these lawless rangers of the deep had little romance about them,

though their desperate valour when brought to bay merits our admiration—for their name was indeed

'Link'd with one virtue, and a thousand crimes.'

These freebooters were commonplace sea-robbers, and their characters were only redeemed* from utter degradation and infamy by the courage they often displayed when fighting against heavy odds, and by the amusing ingenuity and audacity with which they carried through an enterprise or escaped from an embarrassing situation.

The buccaneers, who were of English and French nationality, first settled at the island of Saint Christopher, in the Caribbee group of the West Indies, in the year 1625, and derived their name from the 'boucan,' or dried meat cured after the Indian fashion, upon which they chiefly subsisted; the French adventurers were also called filibustiers, corrupted to filibusters. A few years later the buccaneers settled in Tortugas, which was surprised by the Spaniards, from Hispaniola or St. Domingo, in 1638, and the settlers were nearly all massacred, a measure which increased the animosity of the buccaneers against the Spaniards. They returned, however, to the island, and we find that in 1641 the French had established their supremacy in Tortugas, and also settled in Hispaniola, and from this date the English and French buccaneers were distinct, though they frequently acted in concert against the common foe.

The policy of their respective Governments was to

* A work has been written on this subject, entitled 'The History of the Buccaneers of America,' by one of themselves, a Dutchman, which was published in 1678, and translated into English, French, and Spanish.

connive at the depredations of these lawless seamen, whose prizes brought profit to the Colonies. Their first great feat of arms was performed in 1654, when a force of English and French buccaneers captured the Spanish town of Nueva Segovia, on the Mosquito River, and the records of these times are full of their deeds of daring, often stained with remorseless cruelty. Among the most famous of their leaders were the Frenchmen, Pierre, called le Grand for his successes; Montbars; and L'Olonnois, a monster of ferocity, who is said on one occasion to have executed ninety prisoners with his own hand. A great buccaneer chief was Mansvelt, who, in 1664, proceeded from Jamaica with fifteen ships and 500 French and English followers to Providence, an island about forty leagues from the Mosquito shore, and which is not to be confounded with the larger island of the same name in the Bahamas. Mansvelt's successor was Henry Morgan, the most famous of all the buccaneer chiefs, who captured and plundered Puerto del Principe, in Cuba, and the strongly fortified town and port of Porto Bello, which he took with only 460 men; but the gallantry and skill he displayed was disgraced by the atrocities perpetrated upon the prisoners. Morgan also captured Maracaibo, but met with a terrible misfortune, in the accidental destruction, by the explosion of her magazine, of a large prize, with 350 of his men and all her own crew.

In July, 1670, a treaty was concluded between this country and Spain, terminating this buccaneer war; but in the following December, Morgan resolved to strike a blow, and collected a fleet of no less than thirty-seven vessels, having on board 2000 men of diverse nationalities. The object of attack was Panama, and, on the 16th December, the fleet sailed from Cape Tiburon, on

the west coast of San Domingo. Providence was captured without opposition, and a force of 400 men was despatched against the fort of San Lorenzo, at the entrance of the Chagre River, which, after a desperate resistance, was carried by assault, the loss of the valiant defenders being 200 out of 314, and, of the assailants, 100 were killed and seventy wounded. Morgan now repaired to San Lorenzo, and leaving a garrison of 500 men, with 150 to take care of the ships, proceeded across the isthmus with 1200 men, following in the footsteps of Oxnam, whose fate, a century before, has been mentioned.

Travelling partly by land, and partly by the river Chagre, on the seventh day they arrived at Cruz, eight leagues distant from Panama, which they sighted on the ninth day. On the 27th January they were before the city, when a battle took place with the Spaniards, who, it is said, numbered 2000 infantry and 400 horse, in which the buccaneers were victorious, and, entering the city, gave no quarter; 600 Spaniards fell, the inhabitants were subjected to every species of outrage, and the city, which contained 7000 houses, caught fire and was burnt to the ground. On the 24th February, Morgan set out on his return march, taking with him 600 prisoners, including many women and children, for ransom, and 175 mules, laden with spoil, which was divided at Chagre, when the expedition dispersed, Morgan secretly withdrawing himself with four ships to Jamaica.* The newly-arrived governor, Lord Vaughan, enforced the treaty with Spain by prohibiting any further expeditions, and those engaging in them were executed as pirates.

* Notwithstanding his inhumanity, Morgan was knighted by Charles II., and appointed Deputy-Governor of Jamaica, where he brought to trial and hanged some of his old associates.

The French filibusters continued to harass the Spanish and Dutch possessions in the West Indies, but they generally failed to achieve any success, and, in 1673, and again in 1678, two attempts made by the regular forces, in conjunction with the filibusters, on the Dutch island of Curaçoa, met with disaster; on the second occasion eighteen vessels and 300 men being lost owing to an error in the navigation. Nor were they more successful against the Spaniards in Porto Rico, where, in 1673, the Spanish Governor put to death 300 prisoners, in revenge for an attack made on the island, and, three years later, the Spanish surprised and put to the sword almost all the French settlers in Hispaniola. In August, 1678, a peace was concluded between the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch.

But the profits of piracy were too great to deter the desperadoes and adventurers from all lands from joining in it, notwithstanding any international compacts, and buccaneering continued to flourish off the Spanish main. One party, under a Frenchman, sacked Maracaibo, and, in 1679, 200 men and three vessels, two English and one French, surprised and plundered Porto Bello, the share of each man being 160 pieces-of-eight. In the following year, the crews of seven English buccaneer vessels settled in Golden Island, the most eastern of the Samballas, or Isles of San Blas, and 331 men engaged in an expedition against the Spanish town of Santa Maria, situated on the banks of a small river debouching into the Bay of Panama. Among the party was William Dampier, the famous seaman and explorer, who now, for the first time, appears on the page of history; and another man of note was a surgeon, Lionel Wafer by name, author of the 'Description of the Isthmus of Darien.'

The force landed on Darien on the 5th April, 1680, Captain Bartholomew Sharp, who published a journal of the expedition, taking the lead, and accompanied by 200 Indians, commenced the march for Santa Maria. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the whole party, numbering nearly 600 men, arrived in front of the fort, which, being made only of palisades, was captured with little opposition, though only twenty pounds weight of gold was found, the Spaniards having removed the greater portion. As it was decided to proceed in the canoes, of which they had sixty-eight, into the South Sea, on the 19th April the buccaneers, under the command of John Coxon, embarked from Santa Maria, and two days later entered the South Sea, when they captured some Spanish vessels. On the 23rd, a portion, about 200 men, appeared before the town of Panama, and after a severe action with three Spanish vessels-of-war, in which they lost eighteen killed and thirty wounded, anchored before the new city, which was built westward of the one burnt by Morgan, but were unable to land and take possession owing to their numerical inferiority. Dissensions now broke out among the buccaneers, and Coxon, who was accused of want of enterprise, was removed from the command, and re-crossed the isthmus with seventy followers.

They now selected as their leader one Richard Sawkins, of whose patronymic might be said, in the words employed by Byron of Amos Cottle:

> 'Phœbus! what a name
> To fill the speaking trump of future fame.'

But this Sawkins, notwithstanding his unpoetic name, was well fitted for the post by his reckless gallantry, and having distinguished himself in the recent

action, was elected to the chief command by acclamation. Panama was blockaded from the neighbouring island of Toboga, and many prizes were captured. On the 15th May, they sailed in their prizes from the Bay of Panama, for the Spanish town of Pueblo Nueva, when Captain Sawkins was killed in a gallant but fruitless attempt to capture the place with sixty men.

Captain Sharp was now elected to the command, but about seventy malcontents returned over the isthmus to the West Indies, the main party being now reduced to 146 men. On the 6th June, Sharp sailed with his two vessels from the island of Quibo for the coast of Peru, and on the 17th they anchored off the island of Gorgona, where they remained till the 25th July, when they proceeded to the island of Plata. Sailing hence to the southward, on the 25th August, they captured, after a short action, a Spanish ship from Guayaquil, with 3000 dollars on board. Sharp passed Callao and Arica, and, on the 3rd December, landed and entered without opposition the town of La Serena, when they obtained 500 pounds weight of silver. From here they proceeded to Juan Fernandez, where they arrived on Christmas Day; and it is remarked by Ringrose (whose MS. journal of the expedition is preserved in the Sloane Collection at the British Museum), that the shore of the bay in which they anchored was covered with seals and sea-lions, while the island was stocked with goats, of which they killed one hundred for salting, besides those consumed during their stay.

Here further dissensions broke out, and Sharp, whose courage and capacity were called in question, was deposed from the command, and John Watling, 'an old privateer, and esteemed a stout seaman,' elected his successor. There is a curious entry here in Ringrose's

journal: 'This day, January 9th,' he says, 'was the first Sunday that ever we kept by command since the loss and death of our valiant commander Captain Sawkins, who once threw the dice overboard, finding them in use on the said day.' But these sticklers for Sabbath-day observance did not scruple to countenance the infraction of most of the Ten Commandments, and the history of the buccaneers is one fearful record of crime, only redeemed by their reckless courage. On the 11th January they were alarmed by the approach of three sail, supposed to be Spanish ships-of-war, and hastily put to sea, when a Mosquito Indian, William by name, who was in the woods hunting goats, was left behind in the hurry of departure.

Apparently this was not the first instance of a man being left on the island, for the Spanish pilot averred that 'many years before a ship had been cast away there, and only one man saved, who lived alone upon the island five years, when another ship coming that way took him off.'

The three Spanish vessels, which proved to be privateers, feared to attack the buccaneers' ship, which they might easily have captured, as she had not a single great gun; and on the 13th the latter sailed away for Arica, where they were informed much wealth was stored. On the 26th they plundered of provisions, its sole possession, a small Indian village on the island of Yqueque, twenty-five leagues to the south of Arica, and took away as prisoners two Indians and two aged Spaniards; and Captain Watling, with all his pretended religion, had the barbarity to shoot one of the Spaniards because he was offended at the answers he gave him regarding the Spanish force at Arica. On the night of the 28th Watling landed about five leagues to the south

of this place, and remaining in concealment all day, on the following night marched with ninety-two men for Arica, which he captured with the loss of only three men killed and two wounded; but he suffered a sanguinary repulse when attacking the fort, and was killed together with many of his men, the remainder retreating to the boats in which they embarked on board their ship. In this affair their losses were twenty-eight men, including the prisoners who were all executed, and eighteen wounded.

After this failure Sharp was reinstated in the command, and they steered to the northward as far as Huasco, whence, having laid in a store of provisions, they returned, and on the 27th March passed Arica. On their arrival at Plata Island on the 16th April, dissensions again broke out, some wishing to return by the isthmus, and others to continue in the South Sea. Ultimately the crew were polled, and the majority siding with Sharp, who wished to continue their depredations on Spanish commerce, remained in the ship *Trinidad*, captured in the Bay of Panama, while the minority, consisting of forty-four Europeans and three Indians, on the 17th April, 1681, left in the long-boat and canoes for the Gulf of San Miguel in the Bay of Panama. With this party went John Cook, a man of some note from his later achievements in the same line; William Dampier, who published a brief account of the expedition and of his return across the Isthmus of Darien (see vol. i. of his 'Voyages'); and Lionel Wafer, the surgeon who, meeting with an accident in the isthmus, remained some months with the Darien Indians, of whom, and of his adventures, he published an interesting account.

Sharp and his coadjutors, who numbered about seventy men, had the good-luck, soon after the departure

of their shipmates, to capture three prizes, in one of which were 37,000 pieces-of-eight, besides plate, and in another 6580 dollars.* In one narrative it is said that the latter prize, named the San Rosario, contained 700 pigs of plate, which was supposed to be tin, and was not removed when the ship was turned adrift, except one pig reserved for use as bullets, the remaining part of which, about one-third, was, on their arrival at Antigua, given to a Bristol man, who brought it to England, and sold it for £75 sterling. 'Thus,' adds the narrator, 'we parted with the richest booty we got in the whole voyage, through our own ignorance and laziness.' They also took out of this ship a great book full of sea-charts and maps, containing an account and exact description of all the ports, soundings, rivers, capes, and coasts of the South Sea, and all the navigation usually performed by the Spaniards in that ocean. This curious work, which forms the only permanent result of this expedition, was presented to King Charles II., by whose order it was translated into English, the original and translation forming Nos. 239 and 44 in the Sloane Collection of MSS. in the British Museum.

It was Captain Sharp's intention to return home by the Straits of Magellan, and proceeding to the southward, on the 12th October he brought to in 50° 40′ S. in an arm of the sea he named English Gulf, and the land forming the harbour he called Duke of York's Island, which is supposed to be the southern part of the island named by the Spaniards Madre de Dios, situated to the south of the Gulf De la Santissima Trinidada. On the 5th November they sailed, and passing round

* Each man's share of the portion then divided amounted to 234 pieces-of-eight; and at a later period, when the remainder was divided, each man received 328.

the southern end of Tierra del Fuego, arrived off the island of Barbadoes on the 28th January, 1682; but being afraid of seizure for privateering, by a British frigate lying there, sailed for Antigua, when the Governor refused them leave to enter the harbour. Here they separated, some landing at Antigua, and Sharp and the others at Nevis, whence they made their way to England; the ship, of which we hear nothing further, being left to seven men of the Company who had lost their money by gaming. At the instance of the Spanish ambassador, Sharp and some others on their arrival in England were arraigned for piracy, but were acquitted; three of the crew were tried at Jamaica, and one of them, making a confession, was condemned and executed, but the other two 'stood it out and escaped for want of witnesses.'

The filibusters, like their English compeers, appeared to regard the rich Spanish towns and ships as fair game; and in 1683, just before the outbreak of war between France and Spain, a party of 1200 men embarked in ten ships, under Van Horn (a native of Ostend), Grammont, and Laurent de Graaf, all daring and noted pirates, and sailed for Vera Cruz, in the Gulf of Mexico, which they captured by an ingenious stratagem. Receiving information that two large Spanish ships were expected at Vera Cruz with cargoes from Caraccas, they disguised two of their largest ships, and embarking in them the greater portion of their number, ran under Spanish colours, and with all sail set, for the port, the remainder of their ships following as if in pursuit. It was in the dusk of the evening, and the chased ships were suffered to anchor without molestation close to the town, the remainder withdrawing as if baffled. In the dead of night the filibusters landed and surprised the fort,

reputed to be impregnable, when the town lay at their mercy. The garrison and all the inhabitants who fell into their hands, were shut up in the churches for three days with so little food and water that many of them died, and the merciless crew, having secured by plunder and ransom 1,000,000 of piastres, sailed away from the town of Vera Cruz. Soon after Van Horn, who had amassed vast riches by open piracy against ships of all nations, and had only turned filibuster for the nonce, as a more respectable calling, died of a wound received in a quarrel with De Graaf. At this time the French filibusters numbered 3000 men, and Louis XIV. issued orders to reduce them into the position of privateersmen, or settlers in San Domingo, which met with little success. They now failed in an enterprise against the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Campeachy, but three of their ships captured three Spanish vessels sent against them from Carthagena.

Among those who returned with Dampier and his companions across the isthmus of Darien, was John Cook, who, on his arrival in the West Indies, entered on board a French privateer, commanded by a Dutchman known as Yanky, in the capacity of quartermaster, as the officer next in rank to the captain was called. In capturing a Spanish ship, Cook, according to usage, was appointed to the command, and among the men who volunteered to sail with him was William Dampier. But the axiom 'honour among thieves' did not always hold good with men following this lawless avocation, and it appears that the crews of some French privateers—lying at Isle a Vache, a small island near the south coast of San Domingo, the resort of buccaneers, where this proceeding took place—seized the prize and turned the crew ashore, ten of whom, in-

cluding Cook and Edward Davis, a buccaneer who afterwards earned great fame, joined one of the privateers, commanded by a Captain Tristian. Soon afterwards these Englishmen turned the tables on the Frenchmen, for when Tristian and the greater portion of his men went on shore at Petit Guaves, Cook and his companions seized the ships, landed the remainder of the French crew, and, sailing back to Isle a Vache, collected and took on board the remainder of their old company before the governor was aware that the ship had changed hands. Sailing again, they captured two vessels, one a French ship with wines, and proceeded to Virginia, where they disposed of the goods and two vessels, keeping one of the prizes, which they named the *Revenge*, with the intention of trying their fortunes in that El Dorado, the South Sea, the West Indies being too hot for them. The *Revenge*, now commanded by Captain John Cook, mounted eighteen guns, and among her crew of seventy men were many noted navigators and buccaneers, including William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, Edward Davis, and Ambrose Cowley, who shipped as sailing-master, and, as well as Dampier, has left an account of the expedition, in which the acts of piracy are glozed over.

The *Revenge* sailed from Chesapeake on the 23rd August, 1683, on a voyage destined to be famous, and proceeded across the Atlantic to the Cape de Verde Islands, on the way taking out of a Dutch vessel six casks of wine and other provisions. Early in November they arrived off Sierra Leone, where they saw at anchor a large Dutch ship. Captain Cook, concealing from view all his men, except a few to manage the sails, thus giving her the appearance of a weakly-manned merchantman, neared the Dutchman, and,

suddenly altering his helm, ran her aboard, and poured his piratical crew on her decks. By this daring stratagem (and the fertility of invention displayed by these buccaneers is surprising) they captured, with the loss of only five men, a thirty-six gun ship, stored and victualled for a long voyage. They now proceeded to a river south of Sierra Leone, called the Sherborough, when they burnt their old ship, 'that she might tell no tales,' and having set their prisoners ashore near the native town and English factory established at Sherborough, sailed in their prize, which was re-named the *Batchelor's Delight.*

Directing their course across the Atlantic, on 28th January, 1684, they sighted the northernmost of the islands discovered by John Davis, in 1592, and called after Sebald de Weert, but now known as the Falkland group. Under the supposition that this was a discovery, Cowley named it Pepys Island, though Dampier has an entry in his more veracious narrative, to the effect that the islands were those known as Sebald de Weert. Passing round the east end of Staten Island, they entered the South Sea, and stood for Juan Fernandez. On the 19th March, they encountered an English ship bound on buccaneering adventure, named the *Nicholas*, Captain John Eaton, from whom they learnt that he had met, at the entrance of the Straits of Magellan, and entered the South Sea in company with, another English ship, the *Cygnet*, commanded by Captain Swan, which had been fitted out by some London merchants for a trading voyage, under the license of the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England.

The *Nicholas* and *Batchelor's Delight* proceeded in company, and, on the 22nd March, sighted Juan Fernandez, where, on sending a boat on shore, they found the

Mosquito Indian, William, who had been abandoned here in January, 1681, and had lived in solitude, hiding himself when Spanish ships visited the island, and eluding every attempt the crews made to find him.

Like the ill-fated hero of 'Enoch Arden'—.

> 'Downward from his mountain gorge
> Stept the long-hair'd, long-bearded solitary,
> Brown, looking hardly human, strangely clad,
> Muttering and mumbling, idiot-like it seem'd,
> With inarticulate rage, and making signs
> They knew not what: and yet he led the way
> To where the rivulets of sweet water ran;
> And ever as he mingled with the crew,
> And heard them talking, his long-bounden tongue
> Was loosen'd, till he made them understand;
> Whom, when their casks were fill'd, they took aboard.'

Dampier, who, with others of the *Batchelor's Delight*, had been shipmates of William, under Watling's command, proceeded on shore, in the first boat, in company with a Mosquito Indian named Robin, and he gives the following account of the meeting between this man and his countryman, who was eagerly waiting on the sea-shore to receive them: 'Robin was the first who leaped ashore from the boats, and running to his brother Mosquito, nearly threw himself flat on his face at his feet, who, helping him up and embracing him, fell flat with his face on the ground at Robin's feet, and was by him taken up also. We stood with pleasure to behold the surprise, tenderness, and solemnity of this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides; and when their ceremonies were over, we also that stood gazing at them, drew near, each of us embracing him we had found here, who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends, come hither as he thought purposely to fetch him. He was named Will, as the other was Robin, which names were given them by the English.'

It is not at all unlikely that the account of this interview inspired De Foe in his description of the meeting between Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday, in his immortal novel, to which, again, we are indebted for Cowper's well-known lines.

At the time he was left on Juan Fernandez by Watling, William had only a musket, with a small horn of powder and a few shot and a knife. But he displayed surprising ingenuity and resource. We are told that 'when his ammunition was expended, he contrived by notching his knife to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, wherewith he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long knife, heating the pieces of iron first in the fire, and then hammering them out as he pleased with stones.' The clothes in which he landed had long been worn out, and he was clad with only a skin about his waist; he made fishing-lines of the skins of seals cut into thongs, and 'had built himself a hut half a mile from the sea-shore, which he lined with goat-skins, and slept on his couch of sticks raised about two feet from the ground, and spread with goat-skins.' He saw the *Batchelor's Delight* and *Nicholas* on the previous day, and surmising that they were English ships from their manœuvring, had killed three goats which he dressed with vegetables to regale his friends, who enjoyed the good fare. His lonely life, as told in De Foe's narrative, has fired the imagination of generations of English boys, and the tropic seas in which he passed three solitary years have been described by many poets, though even such beauties as Southey paints in 'Thalaba,' must pall when enjoyed alone:

> 'And here were coral bowers
> And grots of madrepores,
> And banks of sponge, as soft and fair to eye

As e'er was mossy bed,
Wherein the wood-nymphs lie,
With languid limbs in summer's sultry hours.'

On the 8th April Captains Cook and Eaton sailed in company for the American Continent, and proceeding along the coast to the northward, captured off the Lobos de la Mar Islands, on the 17th May, three vessels laden with provisions, principally flour for Panama. The buccaneers proceeded with their prize to the Galapagos group, situated on the equator, of which they made a chart, which appears in 'Cowley's Voyage.' On the 12th June they sailed from the Galapagos, and early in July made the west cape of the Gulf of Nicoya on the coast of New Spain. On the same day Captain Cook died, and Edward Davis, the quartermaster, was unanimously elected his successor. Still sailing in company they arrived in Amapalla Bay, and anchored off the island of that name, where they obtained abundance of provisions. Here the ships parted, and Cowley quitted the *Batchelor's Delight* and joined Captain Eaton, who sailed on the 2nd September for the Peruvian coast. Davis also left on the following day, and on the 21st the two ships came together again at the island of Plata, the *Nicholas* having meantime visited the Cocos Island. They again separated on the following day, and the *Nicholas* sailed to Timor, when Cowley left her with eighteen men, and returned by the Cape to England. After a voyage of seven months from Batavia, he arrived in London on 12th October, 1686.

Davis was joined on the 2nd October by a small barque, manned by a crew of buccaneers, under one Peter Harris, and by the *Cygnet*, Captain Swan, who stated that in consequence of the hostility of the Spaniards at Valdivia, who refused him supplies and

killed some of his men, he had turned freebooter, and being joined by some buccaneers who had come over the isthmus and were embarked in canoes, he had taken some on board his ship and placed the remainder under the command of Peter Harris in the barque, which however, being unseaworthy, was soon after burnt.

On the 30th October the ships sailed in company, and on the 3rd November landed at Payta, which they found deserted and burnt, 'not so much as a meal of victuals being left them.' Here they learnt that Eaton and Cowley had preceded them, and landing their prisoners, had sailed for England, which they reached in safety, visiting *en route* Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands, where many of the natives were killed without provocation.

Davis made an attempt to surprise Guayaquil, which failed, and captured in the bay four vessels, three of which, carrying 1000 slaves, were suffered to depart after thirty of the poor wretches had been taken out of them. Proceeding to the northward, many places were visited and some prizes captured by the buccaneers, and on the 21st January, 1685, they arrived at the Bay of Panama; the squadron, which was manned by 250 men, consisted of the *Batchelor's Delight*, *Cygnet*, three tenders, and one prize, those that were unseaworthy or slow having been burnt. In one of the Pearl Islands the ships were careened and cleaned, while the crews continued their depredations on Spanish commerce with the smaller vessels. Here they were joined by eighty English and 200 French buccaneers, who had come over the Isthmus of Darien, when the latter were placed in the largest of the prizes named the *Rosario*, under their chiefs Grogniet and L'Escuyer. Learning that a further party of 180 English buccaneers, under one Townley, had crossed

the isthmus, and were building canoes in the Gulf of San Miguel, they sailed thither to embark them, and on the 3rd March sighted these adventurers in two ships they had already taken, upon which the whole squadron returned in company to the Pearl Islands. On the 12th they received information that a further large body of English and French buccaneers was on the march across the isthmus, and three days later one of their small tenders fell in with a vessel in which were six Englishmen who had been cruising during the past six months under the command of William Knight, they having been sent in a canoe in chase of a vessel which they took, but lost sight of their own ship.

Davis, who still retained control over the whole force, gave the command of this barque to Harris, and on the 11th April the buccaneers were strengthened by the arrival of 264 men, commanded by Frenchmen named Desmarais, Rose, and Le Picard, who had served under the famous Sir Henry Morgan, and another of the number was De Lussan who kept a journal of the expedition, which was afterwards published. The buccaneers and filibusters, who now numbered together nearly 1000 men, resolved to give battle to the Spanish fleet, which was then escorting the treasure-ships from Callao. But the Viceroy of Peru had taken steps to strengthen the fleet, which managed to elude the buccaneers, and, entering the Bay of Panama, landed the treasure; the admiral then embarking a large reinforcement of seamen, sent overland from Porto Bello, went in search of the buccaneers, whom he discovered on 28th May, 1685, at anchor near the island of Pacheca, one of the Pearl group. The Spanish fleet numbered fourteen sail, six of which carried guns; the flagship having, it was said, forty-eight guns and 450 men, the vice-admiral forty

guns, the rear-admiral thirty-six, and the others twenty-four, eighteen, and eight respectively. On the other hand, the buccaneer fleet was composed of ten sail, of which only two, the *Batchelor's Delight* and *Cygnet*, carried guns, the former having thirty-six guns and 156 men, and Captain Swan's ship sixteen guns and 140 men. The rest of the fleet had only small arms, and the combined crews numbered 960 men, almost all Europeans; while the Spanish admiral had under his orders 2500 men, though half of them were Indians and slaves.

Notwithstanding this disparity of force, the Spaniards would not take the initiative; but when Davis, who was anxious to obtain the mastery of the Southern Seas, made a signal for his ships to board those of the enemy, Captain Swan displayed pusillanimity, and Grogniet disregarded his order, so he was obliged to forego his intention of striking a decisive blow at the Spanish war marine. On the following day there was some more manœuvring, when, says Dampier, who was on board Davis's ship, 'the Spanish admiral and the rest of his squadron began to play us, and we at them as fast as we could, yet they kept at distant cannonading.' A running fight went on till dark, when the buccaneer fleet returned to their anchorage. On the following day (the 30th May), the Spanish admiral retired with his whole fleet to Panama, and, on the 1st June, Davis sailed with all his ships intact for the island of Quibo. Here dissensions broke out between the English and French, who indulged in mutual recriminations regarding the fiasco in the Bay of Panama. Their last proceeding in combination was to capture the town of Pueblo Nuevo, on the mainland, which they did without opposition; but they found no plunder, and

then, in consequence of their disagreements, they separated, the French, to the number of 330, leaving Quibo under Grogniet.

At this time the English party were joined by a buccaneer ship, under William Knight, who had been cruising about the Pacific on his own account during the past nine months, and, on the 20th July, Davis sailed with eight vessels, manned by 640 men, for Rio Lexa. On the arrival at this place, on the 9th August, Davis kept his ships out of sight in the offing, and proceeded towards the harbour with 520 men, in thirty-one canoes he had constructed at Quibo, some large enough to carry forty or fifty men. The flotilla was driven back by a sudden tempest that arose, but proceeding again later in the day, entered during the night a narrow creek which led towards the city of Leon, situated on the lake of Nicaragua, twenty miles from the sea-coast. After proceeding some distance up the river, Davis, leaving sixty men as a guard, marched towards the city, which surrendered without offering any opposition. But the buccaneers were disappointed of booty, and as they could extract no ransom for the city, which had a cathedral and three churches, they set fire to it on the 14th, and returned to the coast, when the town of Rio Lexa suffered a similar fate.

After this adventure, the buccaneers dissolved themselves into small parties, the better to gain subsistence and plunder. Swan, accompanied by William Dampier, who here left his old commander, proceeded to the coast of New Spain, whence he proposed to sail for the East Indies; Townley and others agreed to remain with him as long as he cruised on the American coast, when they intended to return to the isthmus; while Davis, with his ship and those of Knight and Harris, and a

tender, resolved to continue on their present cruising ground.

Davis, whose surgeon, Wafer, has given a brief account of his proceedings, sailed from Rio Lexa on the 27th August, exchanging farewell salutes with Swan, and went to the Bay of Amapalla, where he built huts for the accommodation of his men, of whom over 130 were ill with spotted fever, of which many died. On the recovery of the crew, Davis sailed for the Peruvian coast, on the way touching at Cocos Island, where Harris left for the East Indies, and the tender also parted company. Davis and Knight now sailed in company for the Galapagos, whence they proceeded to the coast of Peru, where they cruised in company till the end of 1686, plundering the towns of Guasco, Pisco —where they had sharp encounters with the Spaniards —and also landed at La Nasca, Coquimbo, and other places, which were all more or less sacked or placed under contribution; and, according to Lussan, the share of booty of each man by these successful piracies was 5000 pieces-of-eight.

The ships now proceeded for a refit to Juan Fernandez, where they separated; those of the men who had lost by gambling all their hard, but ill-earned, share of the booty, numbering sixty Englishmen and twenty Frenchmen, remaining with Davis in the *Batchelor's Delight*, to try their luck again, while their more fortunate companions who had won, sailed for the West Indies under the command of Knight. Davis steered for the American coast, and visited Mocha, Copiapo, Vermejo, and Arica, which they plundered; he also captured some vessels, and, in April, 1687, fought an action with the Spanish frigate *Katalina*, which he drove on shore. Shortly after this action he plundered

Payta, where he surprised a courier with despatches from the commander at Guayaquil to the viceroy at Lima, announcing that the town was in the possession of the English and French buccaneers, whom he was keeping amused with negotiations, and urgently requesting the despatch of assistance. Upon receipt of this news, and learning that Spanish ships-of-war were on their way to Guayaquil from Callao, Davis sailed for that place, where he arrived on the 14th May. Here he found many of his old confederates, who had left him under Grogniet and Townley—though both of these commanders were dead, Townley of wounds received in action, and Grogniet killed at the capture of Guayaquil on the 20th April—their successors being respectively George Hout, or Hutt, and Le Picard.

The buccaneer ships were at anchor by the island of Puna, and had on board hundreds of Spanish prisoners, for whose ransom at length the governor sent 42,000 pieces-of-eight, which being considered insufficient, the buccaneers only released a portion of the prisoners, retaining the governor and those of most consideration; and, on the 26th, they quitted Puna and joined Davis, who remained in the offing awaiting the arrival of the Spanish fleet. In the same evening two large ships of the enemy hove in sight, and it was a fortunate circumstance for the buccaneers that Davis had reinforced them, for, besides the *Batchelor's Delight*, which carried thirty-six guns, their vessels consisted only of a small ship and a galley. The action commenced on the 27th by a distant cannonade, which was daily resumed till the 2nd of June, when the Spanish admiral withdrew.

Davis and Picard, satisfied with retaining their plunder, sailed to the island La Plata, where a council was held, and it was resolved that they should return home to

enjoy their ill-gotten gains. Most of the English buccaneers remained with Davis, who proposed to return home by Cape Horn; and Picard, with all the French and some of the English, elected to return to the West Indies overland, as his ship was not seaworthy enough to undertake the passage round South America. Accordingly, on the 10th of June they landed their prisoners on the continent; the booty taken at Guayaquil was divided, the amount received by each man being, according to Lussan, 400 pieces-of-eight; and then, on the 12th of June, the two parties separated.

Davis, having re-fitted and re-victualled at Galapagos, sailed to the southward, and discovered an island which was called Davis Land, and is probably that known as Easter Island, though Jacob Roggewein, the Dutch navigator, who visited and named it twenty-five years later, claimed it as his discovery. He then steered for Juan Fernandez, where he careened, and, landing five of his men (with a negro attendant for each), who, having gamed away their money, were desirous of remaining on the island until they could join some other buccaneer ship, he sailed for the islands of Mocha and Santa Maria, and, proceeding thence round Cape Horn, arrived in the West Indies in the spring of 1688. Here he received notice of the Royal Proclamation offering pardon to all those buccaneers who would give up their evil way of life; so he and his men returned to England, fortunate in this happy coincidence, no less than in having survived so many perils and returned in safety to their native land. Much of this immunity is, however, due to the prudence, courage, and able management of the commander, Edward Davis, of whom William Dampier always speaks in his narrative with respect. Had he served his country in the navy, it is certain that he

would have acquired distinction, for he had the art of managing men and inspiring confidence, while his moral character, like that of Dampier—as gathered from his writings, which display refinement of feeling in no ordinary degree—must stand high for a man of his calling, as he never permitted acts of cruelty, but restrained the ferocity of his followers.

And here we may mention that the five men left by Davis remained at the island of Juan Fernandez, until rescued by the English ship *Farewell*, Captain John Strong. On the arrival of that ship off the island, on the evening of the 11th of October, 1690, the crew were surprised to observe a fire on an elevated part of the island; and, on the following morning, Captain Strong sent a boat ashore, which soon returned, bringing off two Englishmen. These men said that during the past three years the island had only been visited by Spanish ships, from the crews of which they had concealed themselves in subterranean places they had contrived. At length one of their number delivered himself up to the Spaniards. The remaining four, with their four slaves, gladly availed themselves of Captain Strong's offer, and quitted the island in the *Farewell*. Of this ship's voyage two journals have been preserved among the MSS. in the Sloane Collection of the British Museum.

We will now follow the fortunes of the *Cygnet*, commanded by Captain Swan, with whom was William Dampier, who kept a journal of their proceedings, which was published. Swan and Townley, with two tenders, the total numerical strength of the crews being 340, after they were left by Davis in August, 1685, remained in Rio Lexa until the 3rd of September, when they sailed to the westward. The wind being from that quarter, they did not make much progress, and, on the

24th, Townley, taking with him 106 men in nine canoes, went forward to plunder any defenceless towns on the coast; but the expedition was a failure, and, on the 2nd of October, they returned to the ship, which proceeded to Guatulco in latitude 15° 30′. Townley marched fourteen miles inland, with 140 men, but, embarking again, the ships advanced to Port de Angeles, in 15° N. latitude, where they seized what provisions they required. They sailed on the 28th, and, hearing that a ship of twenty guns had lately arrived at Acapulco, Townley determined to proceed thither and try and cut her out, as he was dissatisfied with his own ship.

On the 7th of November, the buccaneers arrived in the offing, and, in the evening, Townley set out, with 140 men in twelve canoes, for the harbour of Acapulco; but after reconnoitring the ship, which lay close under the castle, he abandoned the attempt, and they returned to their ships, which proceeded to the westward. On the 14th, guided by a Mulatto woman whom they took prisoner, a party of 100 buccaneers landed and marched inland, when they captured a caravan, drawn by mules, carrying forty packs of flour and other eatables intended for Acapulco, which they embarked on board. On the 26th, Swan and Townley took 200 men in the canoes, to sack the city of Colima; but though they rowed twenty leagues along the shore, they found no good landing-place. On the 1st of December the whole party landed at Salagua, but, after an ineffectual march twelve miles inland, re-embarked and sailed for Corrientes, where they arrived on the 11th. The ships watered at the Keys, or isles, of Chametly, twelve leagues distant, while parties proceeded in canoes on foraging expeditions to the mainland, where, on one occasion, a detachment of thirty-seven men was attacked by a Spanish body of foot and

horse, whom they repulsed, though not without the loss of four killed and two severely wounded.

On the 1st January, 1686, Swan and Townley quitted their station off Cape Corrientes, and proceeded to the Bay of Vanderas, where they hunted cattle and killed and salted sufficient for two months' supply. During their absence the galleon from Manilla, for which they had been long waiting, reached Acapulco in safety. Townley and his men now resolved to return to the West Indies by the Isthmus of Darien, and on the 7th January Swan sailed in the *Cygnet* with her tender to the northward, to plunder the Spanish towns in the vicinity of the mines.

The town of Mazatlan was occupied with little opposition, and, on the 2nd February, the buccaneers visited Rosario, situated nine miles up a river; but at neither place did they find any gold, and their only booty was Indian corn. A few days later they met with a severe disaster, caused by the want of discipline of the men, and their disobedience of Captain Swan's orders.

After examining several places on the coast, Swan, on the 15th February, proceeded up the river St. Jago, with 140 men embarked in eight canoes, for the town of Santa Pecaque. Having rowed fifteen miles up the river, at 6 a.m. on the following morning Swan landed, and, leaving twenty men in charge of the canoes, marched for the town which was entered without opposition at 10 a.m., the inhabitants having quitted it at their approach. Immense supplies of provisions were stored here, and Swan, having determined to remove these, divided his men into two parties, who were to be employed alternately in guarding the stores and carrying them to the canoes. Accordingly, after a day employed in taking rest and collecting horses, on the morning of

the 17th, fifty-seven men started with a number of horses laden with maize, which was deposited in safety in the canoes. As the Spaniards had attacked the boat-keepers, the party was increased to twenty-seven, and the remaining fifty returned to Santa Pecaque. Next day the other half of the buccaneers were engaged carrying the stores, but Captain Swan learning from a prisoner that nearly 1000 Spaniards and Indians were assembled at the town of Santiago, only nine miles distant, resolved no longer to divide his men, but to leave the town on the following day with as much as he could carry off. Accordingly, early on the 19th he made preparations to march, but the men refused to alter the previous dispositions, and said they would not leave the town until all the provisions had been removed. Swan was forced to acquiesce, and one-half of the party, with fifty-four horses ready laden, marched for the canoes; but contrary to orders, instead of tying the horses together and dividing themselves into two bodies, half in front and half in rear, 'the men,' says Dampier, 'would go their own way, every man leading his own horse.'

The Spaniards, it appears, had observed the want of caution they displayed on the march, and, lying in ambush, attacked and destroyed the entire party to a man. No details were ever known of the murderous fray, but about a quarter of an hour after they had left the town, Captain Swan, hearing shots fired, marched out with his men, who even then ridiculed the idea of danger, and soon came upon their companions who were all found dead and stripped, and so mangled as to be almost unrecognisable. Strange to say, the Spaniards made no attempt to attack the surviving half of the party, who reached the canoes and embarked without opposition. 'In this affair,' says Dampier, 'we lost fifty-four Eng-

lishmen and nine blacks, and among the slain was my ingenious friend Mr. Ringrose, who wrote that part of the 'History of the Buccaneers' which relates to Captain Sharp. He had engaged in this voyage as supercargo of Captain Swan's ship.' Their numbers were now reduced to 150, 100 being on board the *Cygnet*, and the remainder on board the tender.

Disheartened by this great calamity, Swan sailed on the 21st February, and on the 7th March anchored at one of the Tres Marias Islands. With great inhumanity he landed a large number of his prisoners, Spaniards and Indians, on this desolate island, and sailed on the 26th March for the Bay of Vanderas, where he anchored on the 28th, and laid in a supply of water for the intended passage across the Pacific Ocean. On the 31st March, their only provisions being maize and salted fish, they sailed from the American coast. Dampier writes: 'The kettle was boiled but once a day, and there was no occasion to call the men to victuals. All hands came up to see the quartermaster share it, and he had need to be exact. We had a dog and two cats on board, and they likewise had a small allowance given them, and they waited with as much eagerness to see it shared as we did.' Under these circumstances it was fortunate for them that they had a fresh trade-wind, and on the 21st May the *Cygnet* and her tender anchored a mile from the shore of the island of Guam, of the Ladrone group. The Spaniards, and the few natives who remained here after their last insurrection, readily supplied them with provisions for which payment was made; and on the 2nd June they sailed for the island of Mindanao, in the Philippines, where they arrived on the 21st. Here they laid in a plentiful supply of venison, and then sailed for the river and city of Mindanao, where

they were well received by the native Sultan. It was not until the end of the year that they made preparations to leave, and then it was found that the bottom of the tender was so worm-eaten that she could not float.

Early in January, 1687, while Captain Swan was on shore, the crew got sight of his journal, which he had accidentally left lying about, and learned from it that he had noted the misconduct of several of them, with the intimation, as they feared, of bringing them to account hereafter; hearing of this discovery, Swan feared to trust himself among them, and the mutineers sailed on the 14th January, leaving their commander and thirty-six of the crew at Mindanao, among those who accompanied them being Dampier, who, however, disclaims any share in the mutiny. From the Philippines, the *Cygnet*, under the command of one John Reed, sailed to the island of Pulo Condore, whence they went cruising to the Gulf of Siam and the China Seas, where they doubtless committed many acts of piracy, though Dampier is discreetly silent on this head.

In July, they were at the Ponghow Islands, and, on 6th August, arrived at the group marked on the chart as the 'five islands,' to which they gave the names of the Prince of Orange, Duke of Grafton, Monmouth, Goat, and Bashee, giving the whole group the name of Bashee Islands, after the liquor concocted by the natives. The buccaneers sailed on the 3rd October, and cruised about the Philippines, Celebes, and Timor, thence steering for the coast of Australia, which was sighted on the 4th January, 1689. The *Cygnet* remained careened in a bay on the north-west coast of Australia, in about 16° 50′ S. lat., from the 6th January to the 12th March, when they warped her out and sailed for the west coast of Sumatra, which they made on the 7th April. Thence

they proceeded to the Nicobar Islands, where Dampier and some others quitted the *Cygnet*, which continued her piratical cruising under the command of Reed and others, until at length, being no longer seaworthy, she was abandoned at St. Augustine's Bay, in Madagascar, a noted haunt for pirates. Dampier, who had led a life of strange adventure since he sailed in the *Revenge*, from Virginia, on the 23rd August, 1683, in company with those famous freebooters, Edward Davis, Lionel Wafer, Ambrose Cowley, and John Cook, proceeded to England, and arrived in the Downs on the 16th September, 1691; and the remainder of the crew either embarked on board European ships, or engaged in the service of the petty chiefs of Madagascar.

On the separation of the English and French buccaneers, at the island of Quibo, in July, 1685, the latter, to the number of 341 men, chose for their leader François Grogniet; but having only a small ship, two barques, and some canoes, they were compelled to confine their depredations to the places on the coast of New Spain, in the neighbourhood of Quibo, and plundered the towns of Pueblo Nueva, Rio Lexa, and other places, some more than once, though they got little else than provisions. Early in January, 1686, 230 of the men went in canoes from Quibo to Chiriquita, a small town on the continent, which they surprised and burnt; in retaliation, a Spanish squadron which arrived at Quibo burnt their only ship, but feared to attack the French, who had taken station in the river with their barques and canoes. In the following month the buccaneers lost fourteen men from sickness, and in March suffered a disastrous repulse from a portion of the Spanish flotilla, which was lying in the river of Pueblo Nueva, whither they had sent a party to forage

for supplies. At this time, they were joined by a ship and five large canoes carrying 115 men, under the command of Townley, who had separated from Swan nearly two months before. Grogniet and Townley now agreed to co-operate in an attack on Grenada, which is about sixteen leagues from Leon, near the Lake of Nicaragua.

To avoid suspicion, they left the ship and two barques at anchor near Cape Blanco, and, proceeding in canoes, on the 7th April, 345 men landed about sixty miles to the northward of the Cape, and the same distance from Grenada, and, conducted by guides, marched night and day by unfrequented paths, until the night of the 9th, when fatigue and hunger compelled them to halt. But their advance had been discovered, and when they arrived before the city, at 2 p.m., on the 10th April, the people had sent away to an island in the middle of the lake, all the treasure and valuables that could be moved. Grenada was a large and handsome city, and was provided with cannon, but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the buccaneers, who, having carried the place by assault, with small loss, plundered the town, and burnt it to the ground on the Spaniards refusing to pay a ransom. Taking with them military stores and provisions, they started on their return march to the coast on the 15th April, and, on the 26th, embarked in their ships.

But these predatory attacks were found to give bare subsistence, and the plunder was almost nil; so, on the 19th May, they parted company, all the English and half the French, in a ship, barque, and some large canoes, under Townley, electing to sail for the Bay of Panama, and the other half of the French, 148 in number, com-

manded by Grogniet, determining to try their fortunes to the north-westward.

Townley, who proposed an attack on Lavelia, or La Villia, arrived off the Punta Malo on the 20th June, and at midnight of the 22nd, 160 men landed from the canoes at the entrance of the river, and after a march of some hours surprised the town, and made prisoners of over 300 of the inhabitants. Owing to the apathy and negligence of the Government of Panama, they found here merchandise to the value of 1,500,000 piastres, besides 15,000 piastres in money. On the 24th, having loaded eighty horses with the goods, which were deposited in the only two boats they could procure in the place, they offered the town for ransom to the alcalde; but as he refused to treat with them, they committed it to the flames. On the following day they quitted Lavelia, marching along one of the banks of the river, having under escort the two boats on board of which were nine men. But their enemy displayed their usual wiliness, and they more than ordinary carelessness. Following them by by-paths through the woods, they watched them until, having descended a league down the river, the buccaneers, whose further progress along the banks was debarred by the thick undergrowth, made a circuit of about a quarter of a mile. The Spaniards, who were on the watch on the opposite bank, seizing their opportunity, attacked the guard in the boats, of whom they killed five, four escaping into the woods. From these survivors the buccaneers learned the loss they had sustained, which was due to a reckless folly in remarkable contrast to the acuteness and resource they had displayed in effecting the capture. The buccaneers, enraged at the spectacle of the head of one of their comrades stuck upon a pole by the river's bank, treated four

prisoners they had in the same way, and descended the river in two Spanish barques, which had been abandoned by their crews, when they experienced a further loss of four men by musketry fire from the banks.

The Spaniards sent a messenger to treat with the buccaneers for the remainder of their prisoners, and Townley having agreed to ransom them for 10,000 pieces-of-eight, permitted some of them to go ashore to arrange for the payment of the money. But two days later the messenger returned with a notification that the alcalde refused to pay any ransom, upon which the buccaneers sent him back with the heads of two of the prisoners, and an assurance that if the money was not speedily paid the rest of the captives should be treated in the same way. This barbarous conduct had the desired effect; the ransom was paid, partly in money and partly in provisions, for the remaining prisoners and one of the captured barques.

On the 21st August, as the buccaneers were anchored off the island of Toboga, near the city of Panama, they were attacked by three armed vessels from that city, but not only repulsed them, but captured two of the vessels and a third that came as a reinforcement. Finding in this vessel cords for binding them when captured, the buccaneers became so exasperated that they slaughtered the whole crew. But they were guilty of a deed of still greater enormity, inasmuch as it was performed in cold blood. A demand for the release of five buccaneers, and for ransom for their prisoners, was made upon the President of Panama, who declined to accede to it; upon this a second demand was made for the release of their five companions, and upon its non-compliance the heads of twenty Spaniards were sent to the Governor in a canoe, with an intimation that the

remainder of his countrymen should be executed if all their demands were not acceded to by the 28th of the month. The president, horror-struck at such ferocity, sent the price of blood and the five buccaneers, with a letter that he left to their consciences the disposal of the surviving prisoners in their hands. Now, adding baseness to cruelty, they only returned twelve of their prisoners, and demanded 20,000 pieces-of-eight for the remainder; but ultimately, on the 4th September, they consented to be satisfied with half that sum and a supply of provisions, when the remainder of the prisoners were released.

Five days later, Townley, who had been wounded in the action of the 22nd August, died, and in November the buccaneers left the Bay of Panama, taking with them two of the prizes which were manned from the canoes, the largest being under the command of Le Picard, the chief of the French party. They continued their old system of extracting provisions and ransom for prisoners, from the towns they surprised on the coast; and their cruelty is vouched by one of themselves, Lussan, who states regarding an intercepted Spanish courier, that 'we interrogated him with the usual ceremonies, that is to say, we gave him the torture, to make him tell us what we wanted to know:' so it may be gathered that torture was habitually practised by these bloodthirsty freebooters. On the 20th January, 1687, they met Grogniet, who had parted from Townley with 148 men in three canoes, but had now only sixty men under his command, the remainder having quitted him to try their fortunes towards California. Grogniet expressed his intention to return overland to the West Indies, but was dissuaded for the present from this project, and the party signalised their reunion by setting fire to the town

of Nicoya. It was decided that they should make an attack on Guayaquil, but the English and French sections disagreed as to the priority of choice in the prize vessels they anticipated to capture, and at length Grogniet and about fifty men remained with the English, and the party, numbering 142, embarked in one ship, while the remainder, numbering 162 Frenchmen, took to a small ship and a galley, or barca longa.

Towards the end of February, both parties proceeded separately towards Guayaquil, and meeting again accidentally at sea some weeks later, made up their differences, and proceeded together in company, picking up on the way a prize, manned with eight men, belonging to their old commander, Edward Davis, laden with corn and wine. Proceeding along the coast with great caution, furling sails during the day and keeping out of sight of land, on the 15th April 260 men quitted the ships in canoes, and landing at Santa Clara, an uninhabited part of the coast, marched only during the night, and lay in concealment during the day. They approached the entrance of the river of Guayaquil, on the night of the 17th, when their approach was detected by the guard, which, however, they succeeded in overpowering before the alarm spread. They stopped here and at an island in the river, on the 18th and 19th April, and on the following night, proceeding down the river, landed, two hours before daybreak on the 20th, a short distance below the town. But notwithstanding their circumspection, their advance was discovered by a sentry on the opposite bank of the river, who saw a pipe-light struck by a buccaneer. The alarm was given, but the Spaniards could not withstand the attack, and by noon they were driven from the three forts commanding

the town, which was occupied by the buccaneers, whose first act here after their victory, as at Grenada, was the celebration of a Te Deum in the chief church of the place! The buccaneers lost nine men killed and twelve wounded, including Grogniet; but the booty captured was considerable, consisting of merchandise, jewels, and church plate, which, with singular inconsistency, they sequestrated on the conclusion of the Te Deum, to the value of 92,000 dollars. They also seized fourteen vessels at anchor in the port, and two on the stocks, and made prisoners of 700 citizens, including the Governor, who immediately agreed with the buccaneers for the ransom of the city, shipping, and prisoners, for 1,000,000 pieces-of-eight, to be brought from Quito, and paid in gold, on the 5th May, and 400 packages of flour. On the night of the 21st the town caught fire through the carelessness of a buccaneer, when one-third of the houses were burnt. As it had been specified in the treaty that the town should be protected from fire, 'we pretended to believe,' says Lussan, 'that it was their doing.'

On the 25th of April, the buccaneers, taking with them their plunder and 500 prisoners, embarked in the vessels in the port, and fell down the river to the island of Puna, where they proposed to wait for the ransom. Grogniet died of his wound on the 2nd of May, and Le Picard was chosen chief of the French buccaneers, Hutt being commander of the English portion. As the ransom was not forthcoming on the 5th, and beyond a daily supply of provisions for the prisoners, they only received promises, the buccaneers had recourse to their usual method of extorting payment. On the lapse of some days, they made the wretched prisoners cast dice to determine who should die, and the heads of four were delivered to a Spanish officer, with an intimation that,

in the event of non-payment within four days, 500 heads should be presented to him. On the 14th, a galley they had sent to Plata Island to search for Edward Davis, as they were apprehensive of an attack from the Spanish fleet at Callao, returned without finding him, but brought intelligence that two strange sail were near Cape Santa Elena, which proved to be Davis and a prize, which he sent to Puna, and remained in the offing on the look-out for the Spanish fleet. Meanwhile the stipulated time elapsed, and the ransom was unpaid, but the prisoners were not executed, an act of forbearance doubtless due to the intervention of Davis. On the 23rd of May the Spaniards paid 20,000 pieces-of-eight, and eighty packages of flour, and, on the following day, the Lieutenant-Governor of Guayaquil sent word offering 22,000 more pieces-of-eight as final remittance for the release of the prisoners, failing the acceptance of which, they might do their worst on their captives. A consultation was held to take this proposal into consideration, and it was determined, by a majority, to take the money, which was paid on the 26th, when the buccaneers released 400 of the prisoners, retaining 100 of those of most consideration. The same day they quitted Puna and joined Davis, when the action with the two Spanish ships, already described, ensued. On the 10th the remaining prisoners were landed on the coast, and, after dividing the plunder taken at Guayaquil, the two parties separated, Davis sailing for the West Indies by Cape Horn, and Le Picard and Hutt (or Hout as he is also called), with 250 men, for the coast of New Spain, with the view of marching overland to the West Indies.

Towards the end of July, the latter party were joined at Amapalla Bay by thirty French buccaneers, forming a

portion of the dissentients who had formerly quitted Grogniet on the Californian coast. As others of the party were further to the north-west, the buccaneers went in search of them, and, while thus engaged, landed at different places, which they plundered of provisions, there being nothing else of value. In December they returned to Amapalla, and, while making preparations for the journey thence across the continent, a raid inland was made by a party of seventy men, who surprised the town of Chiloteca and took fifty prisoners, whom they lodged in a church. Being apprehensive of an attack, they massacred forty-six of these unfortunate people, and then returned without molestation to the coast.

Having perfected their preparations, the buccaneers destroyed their ship, and, dividing their party into four companies of seventy men each, on the 2nd of January, 1688, set out on their march for the Caribbean sea, with their booty, each man carrying as much as he could stagger under, the remainder being borne by sixty-eight horses and eighty prisoners, who had also to carry the sick and wounded. They secured provisions on the line of march as best they could from the villages they passed, being closely followed by a body of Spanish troops, who played music vigorously when halting, morning and evening, but kept at a respectful distance. As Lussan witily remarks, with a classic allusion: 'It was like the music of the enchanted palace of Psyche, which was heard without the musicians being visible.' On the 11th of January the buccaneers entered Segovia, which was found to be deserted, and three days later, practised a surprise, at which they were such adepts, on a large body of Spanish troops, who had taken up a position, which they had entrenched, to bar their advance. With great skill the

buccaneers threw up works on an opposite hill, and then 200 of their number made a night-march through the woods, on the Spanish rear, and attacked them at daybreak, as they were engaged 'chanting litanies.' The surprise was complete; the Spaniards abandoned their entrenchments and 900 horses, and the buccaneers were now joined by the party having charge of the baggage and provisions, when they continued their march, and, on the 17th of January, arrived at the Rio De Yare, or Cape River. Here they made small rafts, each constructed to carry two men, with their effects, which were navigated by poles, and 'portaged' across the falls, that is, the rafts were taken to pieces and carried to the other side of the falls, when they were set afloat again.

On their arrival, on the 20th of February, near the sea, which they reached with the loss in action of only four killed and four wounded, seventy-five Frenchmen of the party embarked in an English vessel, which they seized in the river, for Jamaica, where they were detained by the Duke of Albemarle, the governor, and their effects sequestrated. On the death of the duke in the following year, the buccaneers were released, but received back no part of the plunder they had acquired by such labour and the commission of such atrocious crimes. The greater part of the French buccaneers went to the French settlements, where they received the benefit of an amnesty proclaimed by their own government. The English buccaneers—of whom five had been murdered by desperadoes of the party, who had escaped into the woods with their plunder, not deeming themselves safe under English laws, as they knew not whether the proclamation of amnesty issued by their government in

1687 was yet in force—remained for the present with the Mosquito Indians near Cape Gracias a Dio, by whom they were well treated.*

Thus was the South Seas finally cleared of the buccaneers, those scourges of Spanish commerce and settlements, whose existence and conduct were a scandal to the British name. The small party of French buccaneers, for whom, as already mentioned, Le Picard had searched in vain, were obliged, owing to the unseaworthiness of their vessels, to take shelter at the Tres Marias Islands, at the entrance to the Gulf of California. Here they remained for four years, when, in despair, they sailed to the southward, in the hope of finding some of their comrades. At Arica, on the Peruvian coast, they captured a Spanish ship with a quantity of treasure, and, embarking in her, sailed for the Atlantic, but were cast away in the Straits of Magellan. From the wreck they constructed two sloops, in which, with part of the treasure, they eventually arrived safely in the West Indies.

The history of the buccaneers, it must be admitted, affords ample materials for the concoction of any number and variety of nautical tales, and nothing related by naval novelists can exceed in romantic interest the sober realities of their adventures in the South Seas. The expeditions of the English buccaneers against the ports and commerce of Spain are unjustifiable; but we must take into account the deep-seated rancour caused

* At this time, 200 French buccaneers, commanded by a Captain Le Sage, sailed from Hispaniola in a ship, intending to cruise in the South Seas, but finding the season unpropitious for rounding Cape Horn, proceeded to the African coast, where they committed great depredations for a period of two years, and returned to the West Indies with much booty.

in the minds of a freedom-loving people, by the cruelty of Alva and his soldiers in the Low Countries:

> 'In spite of raging universal sway,
> And raging seas repress'd, the Belgic States,
> A bulwark on the Continent, arose.'

Even more lasting and deep was the indignation and hatred created among Englishmen by the attempt of Philip of Spain to destroy the liberties of this island by his so-called Invincible Armada. The historian, Rapin, declares that the English people entertained no doubt of success in the unequal encounter between their ships and the Spanish fleet, and Thomson says:

> 'With confidence unbounded, fearless love
> Elate, her fervent people waited gay,
> Cheerful demanded the long-threaten'd fleet,
> And dash'd the pride of Spain around their isle.'

The heroes who fought in that memorable conflict were enshrined in the hearts of their grateful countrymen, and as hatred is as deep-rooted a passion as love, not less intense was the malice with which English seamen pursued the national foe in every sea.

CHAPTER IV.

The French Filibusters under Grammont and De Graaf—Expedition to Carthagena—The Career of Gentleman Lafitte—The Pirates of the Eastern Seas—The Depredations of Evory and Kidd—The Arab Pirates—Malabar Pirates under the Angrias—The Joasmi Pirates.

THOUGH the English authorities in the West Indies held in check the buccaneers, the French filibusters prosecuted their enterprises, and, in 1686, Grammont and De Graaf organised an expedition which plundered and burnt Campeachy. Indeed, these desperadoes were treated with high honour by the French Government, who conferred commissions on many of the leaders, and Grammont was appointed commandant on the south coast of San Domingo, with the rank of 'Lieutenant du Roy.' But he never received the Royal Commission, for having proceeded to sea with a crew of 180 men towards the end of 1686, neither he nor his ship were ever heard of again. De Graaf was also appointed major in the royal army in the West Indies, and became, like the famous buccaneer Morgan, on receiving the honour of knighthood from Charles II., a scourge to his former associates.

The filibusters disregarded the provisions of all compacts, and, in 1688, we find that they sacked the Danish settlement of St. Thomas, one of the Virgin Islands; and on the outbreak of war between France and England, at the Revolution and accession of

William III., they assisted the regular forces of Louis in an attack on the English portion of the island of St. Christopher, where they had established joint settlements, and obliged the people to take refuge in Nevis; but St. Kitts was re-taken by the English in the following year, and the French forces suffered a crushing defeat from the Spaniards in Hispaniola.

Among the most distinguished of the filibusters was one Jean Montauban, who, receiving command of a frigate, encountered a British ship of equal force in the year 1695, off the coast of Guinea, and in the desperate action that ensued, both ships were blown up, only Montauban with a few others escaping with their lives.

Two years later we find these sea robbers, whose employment in fighting their country's battles surrounded them with quite a halo of respectability, engaged in an expedition against their old enemies the Spaniards in the West Indies. Du Casse, the French Governor of Hispaniola, engaged a body of 1200 men, including 700 filibusters, and accompanied the expedition, which was placed under the command of Baron de Pointis, a French naval officer. The fleet, consisting of seven large ships, eleven of smaller size, and store-ships, with a body of soldiers, arrived off Carthagena on the 13th April, 1697, and after a brief siege, the city capitulated on the 3rd May. Though the inhabitants were protected from pillage by the terms of their surrender, they were ill-treated, and De Pointis, in order to get rid of the filibusters, sent them out of the city against a supposed enemy, and then shut the gates against them on their return *re infectâ*. Meantime he embarked all the money and plunder on the ships of war, and at the end of fifteen days opened the gates to the filibusters, who were furious at the deception practised on them and the

treatment they had received. On the 25th May, having embarked the guns from the strong forts protecting the harbour, known as the Bocca Chica (from the narrowness of the entrance), De Pointis—whose conduct throughout was disgraced by a duplicity and unfairness towards M. du Casse, the colonists, and filibusters, who had equally shared the dangers of the siege, such as they were—proceeded on board the ships-of-war with the troops, and sent an order to Du Casse to embark with the filibusters and colonists in the other vessels of the expedition. On the 29th, the men-of-war being ready for sea, De Pointis sent word to his colleague, who had protested against his proceedings, that the share of the booty due to him and the 1200 men he had engaged, was 40,000 crowns, though he says in his report, that besides 110 mules burthen of gold, which was sent away from the city on their approach, 'near eight or nine millions* that could not escape us consoled us for the rest.'

The filibusters, furious at their treatment, at first meditated attacking the eighty-four-gun ship on board of which De Pointis had hoisted his flag, but abandoning this intention, determined to return to Carthagena and recoup themselves for their losses by sacking the place. Notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of Du Casse, who sent word to De Pointis of their intention, that officer sailed with the royal fleet on the 1st June, on his return to France, and Du Casse also proceeded with his levies to San Domingo. These remorseless freebooters had now the coast clear, and proceeded to put into practice their nefarious intentions. They returned to Carthagena, and landing, seized all

* De Pointis does not say whether this sum was in crowns or livres.

the male inhabitants, from whom they demanded five millions of crowns. In four days' time, by torturing them and committing enormities of all sorts, they had extorted almost the whole of this sum, when they received intelligence of the arrival in the West Indies of an English and Dutch fleet. Hastening on board, they distributed the booty, each man's share of gold and silver being 1000 crowns, the merchandise and slaves being reserved for future distribution, and, on the 4th June, sailed from Carthagena in nine vessels. But the English and Dutch squadron, learning that the French had taken Carthagena, sailed thither, and after giving chase to De Pointis's fleet, which only escaped by dint of superior speed, sighted the freebooters' ships some thirty leagues from Carthagena. The latter dispersed on seeing the enemy, but two of the richest were taken, two were driven ashore and wrecked, the crew of one of them falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who displayed magnanimity in sparing their lives, and the remaining five escaped. A law suit was instituted in France against De Pointis by the colonists and filibusters, who gained a decree for the restitution of 1,400,000 livres, but, we are informed, 'the greater part of the sum was swallowed up by the expenses of the suit, and the embezzlement of agents.'

In September, 1697, hostilities ceased by the treaty of Ryswick, and the palmy days of these ocean robbers came to an end, and they were regarded and treated as simple pirates by all civilised governments. From this time the buccaneers and filibusters of America disappear from history, for as the latter carried on their depredations only against the Spaniards, with the succession of a French prince to the Spanish throne in 1700, on the death of Charles II., all hostility between

these nations ceased. It will be allowed from the brief survey we have given that the history of these free-booters forms a romantic and interesting episode in the records of navigation.

There was a revival of the buccaneer and his nefarious calling early in the present century, in the person of Jean Lafitte, who, like his prototypes, Morgan and Davis, preyed on Spanish commerce, and added thereto the profits arising from piracy, for he and his followers seized and plundered with strict impartiality ships of every nationality. Lafitte's history was a strange and chequered one. He ran away from his father's house at Bordeaux when a boy, and joined a British man-of-war, from which he deserted, and proceeding to the West Indies, fitted out a privateer, ostensibly in the service of the Carthagena, or Colombian, Government, then in revolt against Spain, with which he cruised until the year 1809, when he settled at Grand Terre, or Barrataria, an island about five or six miles in length, situated about sixty miles west of the mouths of the Mississippi. His squadron consisted of a dozen or more schooners and small craft, manned by desperate ruffians of all nations, which captured the trading vessels of any flag, and harassed the Spanish ports, and when pursued sought shelter under the protection of a fort on the island.

It is stated by contemporary authorities, that more than 100 vessels fell into the hands of the 'Barratarians,' the crews being made 'to walk the plank,' and the cargoes disposed of to agents at New Orleans. Numerous stories are told of 'Gentleman Lafitte,' or 'the old man,' as he was called, and his address in escaping from perils was as remarkable as his reckless daring. Lafitte became so powerful, that in 1814 Commodore Percy of the British Navy negotiated with him to assist in the projected

attack upon New Orleans; but the pirate chief, while professing to accede to the proposals, disguised himself and went to New Orleans, where he made known the project to the American Governor. Nevertheless the latter, Claiborne by name, acting under instructions from his Government, despatched a squadron against Barrataria, and Lafitte, for some reason, offered no resistance, though, according to Commodore Patterson, 'his force was twenty guns and from 800 to 1000 men.' Six schooners and many smaller vessels were captured, and the value of the booty was £100,000. Notwithstanding this treatment, seventy or eighty of the pirates, with Lafitte at their head, came out of prison and enrolled themselves to assist in the defence of New Orleans against the British, and their conduct was so gallant that President Maddison issued a proclamation of pardon on the 6th February, 1815. Barrataria soon became again the haunt of pirates, and in the latter part of 1817, Lafitte, with about fifty of his old followers, settled at Galveston, then known as Snake Island. This place had been the seat of Government of Commodore D'Auré in 1813-14, who had obtained a commission from the revolutionary Mexican Government, nominating him Governor of Texas, but who was in reality little better than a pirate. In March, 1817, D'Auré sailed from Galveston to co-operate with General Mina against the Spanish Viceroy of Mexico, but the latter was vanquished and fell into the hands of the Viceroy, who caused him to be shot. Soon after this, D'Auré transferred his establishment to Matagorda Bay, and ultimately left Texas.

Lafitte was now joined by many of his old associates, who carried on their piratical depredations under the Venezuelan and Mexican colours, and in 1819, he had

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over twelve armed vessels and 1000 followers, and had built a strong fort. Lafitte is described at this time, by General Long, an adventurer, who visited him, as 'a well-made and handsome man, about six feet two inches in height, strongly built, large hazel eyes and black hair. He was gentlemanly, of sober habits and very thoughtful. He spoke French, Spanish, and English fluently, was of retired habits, rarely associated with his followers, and seldom smiled.' In fact the description might have stood for Conrad, Byron's pirate chief.

> 'With these he mingles not but to command;
> Few are his words, but keen his eye and hand.
> Ne'er seasons he with mirth their jovial mess,
> But they forgive his silence for success.
> Ne'er for his lip the purpling cup they fill,
> That goblet passes him untasted still—
> And for his fare—the rudest of his crew
> Would that, in turn, have passed untasted too.
> "Steer to that shore!"—they sail; "Do this!"—'tis done:
> "Now form and follow me!"—the spoil is won.
> Thus prompt his accents and his actions still,
> And all obey, and few inquire his will.'

He exacted the strictest obedience from his followers, and a story is told of his having hanged one of his lieutenants, a huge, ferocious fellow, of the name of Brown, who had robbed an American citizen, notwithstanding that he had promised his chief to seize only Spanish goods. On one occasion, the crew of his vessel, the *Pride*, a 14-gun brig, mutinied, and attacked him and others of his trusty followers in the cabin, but were driven off with the loss of six men. Occasionally the pirates had desperate encounters with the Spanish vessels-of-war, and on one occasion they lost fifty-four killed and wounded out of a crew of seventy. At length their depredations became so serious that the American Government, in 1821, demanded Lafitte's withdrawal

from Galveston Island, with which he complied. Breaking up his establishment, he proceeded to sea in the *Pride* with his wife and son; but little is known of his subsequent career beyond that from a letter addressed by Judge Duke, a citizen of Matagorda, to a resident at Galveston, it appears that he died in Yucatan in the year 1826. Thus disappeared the last of the freebooters, a man who, by his boldness, resource, and power of organisation was certainly a remarkable personage.

An even more tragic chapter in the story of the sea than that relating to the buccaneers and filibusters, might be written of the deeds of the pirates, those reckless children of the ocean who cared nothing for human life in the prosecution of their nefarious calling, and to whom the waves in all their moods were

> 'A delight, and if the fresh'ning sea
> Made them a terror, 'twas a passing fear.'

During the early part of the eighteenth century, on the break-up of the freebooters of the Spanish main, they infested the Indian Seas, and so great were the ravages of these social pests, that it required a powerful squadron of King's as well as Company's ships to subdue them.

From the earliest times the west coast of India has been devastated by pirates. According to Pliny, the Roman ships when visiting these seas carried a number of archers for protection against these rovers. Ptolemy spoke of their ferocity; and Marco Polo, writing of them in 1269, said, 'that with their wives and children they passed all the months of fair weather at sea; that each of their fleets comprised twenty ships, which being ranged at a distance of five miles from each other, made a line of 100 miles, and that as soon as one descried a

merchant ship she made a signal to the rest, so that it was scarcely possible for their victim to escape.'

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the cruisers of the Indian marine were actively employed in the suppression of the native pirates on the west coast of India, among whom the most formidable were the Sangarians, or Sanganians, mentioned by Arrian, whose name Todd derives from Sangam, an 'embouchure,' because they frequented such places. Captain Hamilton, the author of the 'New Account of the East Indies,' traces the name to Sangania, a province of Cutch, which has always been notorious for these marauders. The pirates that appeared later in the Indian Ocean were much more to be dreaded, the ships being large and well-armed, and manned by European crews.

Hamilton writes from contemporary knowledge: 'The pirates for many years infested the mouth of the Red Sea, committing frequent robberies and barbarities. Captain Evory was the first that led the way, in A.D. 1695; and the pirates finding great booties, purchased with small danger from the traders into the Red Sea, had a project to be masters of the key of that door, so they found the island Perim, which was within gunshot of Babelmandel, to have a good commodious bay for the security of their shipping, upon which consideration they began to build regular fortifications, and dig for fresh water, and with much labour they dug through a hard rock fifteen fathoms deep, but found none but brackish water; wherefore they desisted, and moved to St. Mary's Island, on the east side of Madagascar, as I observed before, and are since removed for more security, over to the main island, and there they fortify themselves by marriages into the noble families of that great island, from whence they come into India and cruise in those

seas. In A.D. 1696, they met with a ship from Bombay, commanded by one Sawbridge, who was carrying Arabian horses for Surat. After they took the ship, Sawbridge began to expostulate with them about their way of life. They ordered him to hold his tongue, but he continuing his discourse, they took a sail-needle and twine, sewed his lips together, and so kept him several hours, with his hands tied behind him. At length they unloosed both his hands and lips, and carried him on board their ship; and after they had plundered Sawbridge's ship, they set her on fire, and burned her and the horses together. Sawbridge and his people were set ashore near Aden, where he died presently after. Captain Evory was not so inhuman, for the year before he took a large ship belonging to the Mogul, and got a booty of 2,600,000 rupees, which amounted to, in sterling money, £325,000. He freed the ship and let her go, without torturing the people, but carried a young Mogul lady with him, and some of her female servants who had been at Mecca.' This affair caused a popular *émeute* at Surat, which resulted in the confinement of Mr. Annesley, head of the East India Company's factory, and his compatriots, by order of the Emperor of Delhi.

Emboldened by their success, no less than five pirate ships, flying English colours, appeared in the Red Sea, and two more, each mounting fourteen guns with crews of 150 men, were engaged plundering trading vessels in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea; another was cruising off the Malabar Coast, and three arrived from New York and made prizes off the Scinde Coast, and to complete the picture of lawlessness presented in the Eastern Seas, two of the Company's trading ships turned pirates after murdering their officers. The Company's war marine had an arduous time in pursuing

these ships, and convoying the traders from their own ports and those of the Mogul Emperor of Delhi. Among the most notorious of these freebooters was Evory, or Avory, before mentioned, who commanded the *Fanny*, carrying forty-six guns and 130 desperadoes, all Europeans, and succeeded in capturing several Surat merchant ships, not sailing under convoy, carrying pilgrims to Jiddah. In 1697 pirate ships plundered and burnt three English vessels in the Eastern Seas, and so bold had they become that one of them attacked the British frigate *Phœnix*, on board which Sir George Byng, afterwards Viscount Torrington, was serving as lieutenant, which, however, sunk her assailant. A large reward was offered for Avory by the Lord Chief Justice of England and the East India Company, but he succeeded in reaching the island of Providence in the Bahamas, when he sold his ship and dispersed his crew; but five of them—though they had passed in safety through the manifold dangers of a sailor's life in the Eastern Seas:

'Being destin'd to a drier death on shore,'

—were apprehended, and suffered the extreme penalty of the law they had so long defied.

After leaving Perim, the pirates settled at St. Mary's, an island, off the east coast of Madagascar, where, and at Tullia Harbour, near St. Augustine's Bay, on the west coast of the same island, the pirates had fortified stations, at which they received stores, supplied from New York and the West Indies. Among the most famous of these sea rovers was Kidd, who had been sent out in command of the *Adventure*, of thirty guns and 200 men, to attack the pirates in Madagascar, but himself turned rover. Kidd captured and plundered a vessel off Rajahpore, and thence, after careening at the

Laccadive Islands, he proceeded to Calicut, where he captured a vessel, and again made his escape on the appearance of a Company's ship. At Cochin he captured three valuable Dutch prizes, and then retired to St. Mary's. Kidd, after a long career of crime, was eventually captured and hanged in chains at Tilbury, together with others of his associates. Chivers, another pirate, called by the Governor of Bombay, 'that grand villain,' was also captured and taken to Bombay.

So strong had the Arab pirates become in 1698, that we find they divided their ships, which carried between thirty and forty guns, into two regular organised squadrons, which swept the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. They plundered and sunk the English merchantman *Diamond*, and the *Mocha*, and *Josiah*, and captured seven or eight other sail, but avoided an encounter with the Company's ships-of-war. Distinct stations were assigned to the English, Dutch, and French cruisers, and in consequence of the representations of the Company, a squadron of four men-of-war was sent out from England by the Admiralty to assist in keeping the police of the Indian seas. There was no improvement in the state of affairs, however, and the King's ships, one of which was wrecked, returned to England with large cargoes, the captains being more intent on enriching themselves than protecting commerce. The pirates received scant mercy when captured, and, we are told by Burney, that in the year 1702, a crew of them were brought before a court of justice, and fifty-two were condemned to death and executed together.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, piratical tribes, known as Coolies and Malwans, were very daring in their depredations, and the Southern Concan, Guzerat, or Kattywar, and Cutch, especially the island

of Beyt, were their chief resorts. Several expeditions were sent against the pirates of Beyt during the last century, and in 1803, and in 1811-12, some ships-of-war and a military force, including H.M.'s sixty-fifth regiment, were employed in reducing these ferocious freebooters. Even in 1859, during the Indian Mutiny, we suffered a sanguinary repulse from the piratical marauders established at Beyt and Dwarka, which were captured after severe fighting and much loss.

The history of the famous pirate chiefs known as Angria, who established themselves on the Malabar coast, at Viziadroog and Severndroog, is a very interesting one, and has been told in detail by the author, in his 'History of the Indian Navy,' a Service which had a chief hand in stamping them out. In those days the coasting craft of India had to go under convoy, as the pirates would swoop down upon passing merchantmen from Viziadroog to Beyt, and traders had dangers to contend with such as now are unknown. As Shylock reasoned when thinking over the question of the security for his loan of 3000 ducats, to Antonio, the merchant of Venice: 'Ships are but boards, sailors but men; there be land-rats, and water-rats, water-thieves, and land-thieves—I mean pirates; and then there is the peril of waters, winds and rocks.'

For fifty years Angria and his piratical horde were a recognised power with whom the Company's representative treated on terms of equality, but at length, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, we reduced their strongholds and broke their power for ever. This victory was achieved by such renowned names in Indian history as Clive, Watson, and James, whose memorial at Shooter's Hill, recording his brilliant capture of the castle of Severndroog, on the 3rd April, 1755, is familiar to most Londoners.

The Arab pirates were scarcely less daring than Kidd, Avory, and their compeers. Speaking of them in 1695, a naval officer in the Company's service expressed an opinion, which was amply verified by subsequent events, that 'they would prove as great a plague in India as the Algerines in Europe.' The Company's agent at Bunder Abbas, in the Persian Gulf, described the Arab fleet as consisting of five large ships, carrying 1500 men, and twelve Arab cruisers; and reported that their depredations were so great that it was supposed the King of Persia would march an army against them; and, he added, in accordance with a request from the Governor of Gombroon, he had obtained the Company's ship *Nassau* to assist in the defence of the town. So powerful were these Arabs at this time that they ousted the Portuguese from Mombaza, and, not only pillaged Diu, but, at the close of the seventeenth century, seized their possessions on the African coast.

The Joasmi pirates, of Ras-ul-Khymah, in the Persian Gulf, likewise attained great strength early in the present century, and possessed powerful fleets which even ravaged the coast of Guzerat and India as far south as Bombay. At length, in the year 1809, a combined military and naval expedition was despatched against them from Bombay, and it was only after they had received a severe lesson in a second expedition in 1819, that they abandoned piracy as their recognised mode of existence. Still, for many years after that date, the Joasmis and other tribes on what is still known as 'the pirate coast,' gave much trouble to the ships-of-war of the Indian Navy.

An interesting chapter in the History of Navigation might be devoted to the pirates of the Levant and Mediterranean, of whom the most powerful were

the Algerines, who received their quietus in the year 1816, at the hands of Sir Edward Pellew, who gained his peerage of Exmouth for the achievement. The pirates of the China seas, of the Malay Peninsula, of Borneo, and the adjacent islands, have also, from time immemorial, been the scourge of the Eastern seas, but thanks chiefly to the energy and daring of the seamen of the Royal and Indian navies, they may be said almost to be extirpated, and a pirate is now a *rara avis*, and when found is a very sneaking sort of personage, wholly different from the bold, sanguinary corsair, immortalised by Byron in his noble poem of that name, and illustrated by the deeds of sea rovers like Kidd and Lafitte. A volume might be filled with a detailed history of the different pirate communities, whose evil deeds have been briefly sketched above; but this work affords no scope for such a narrative, and we resume the history of the Voyages and Discoveries of Navigators in the South Seas after the times of the buccaneers.

CHAPTER V.

The Course of Captain Strong in Search of Lost Treasure, and Rescue of Two Englishmen from Juan Fernandez—French Expedition to the South Seas under M. de Gennes—Spanish attempts to Colonise California—The Ill-fated Scotch Colony at Darien—Dr. Halley's Voyage to the South Seas for Scientific purposes—Dampier's First Voyage of Discovery—Exploration of New Guinea and Circumnavigation of New Britain—His Second Voyage—Attack of the Spanish Settlements in the South Seas, and his Capture by the Dutch—The Cruise of Captains Funnel and Stradling in the South Seas, and Story of Alexander Selkirk at Juan Fernandez—Captain Woodes Rogers' Voyage of Circumnavigation and Adventures in the South Seas—Death of Captain Dampier.

In 1689, during the war with the French on the accession of William and Mary, the *Welfare*, a ship of 270 tons, commanded by Captain John Strong, and having a crew of ninety men, was dispatched from London for the purpose, as well of cruising against the French as of trading with the Spanish settlements in the South Seas, and searching after 'a rich wreck or two, at or near the Point of Santa Elena, not far from the Bay of Puna, and to endeavour to fish up some of the lost treasure.'

Captain Strong, whose journal of this voyage is preserved in the British Museum, as also a narrative by one of the crew, Richard Simson—sailed from the Downs on the 12th of October, 1689, and, on the following 22nd of January, sighted the islands called after the original discoverer, John Davis's Southern Islands, but also known as the islands of Sebald de Weert and

Hawkins' Land. Captain Strong named a passage through which he sailed, Falkland Sound, and the islands have ever since been known by that name. The *Welfare* then sailed for the Straits of Magellan, through which she was above three months in passing. On the 23rd of May she entered the South Seas and visited the island of Mocha and the coast of Peru, arriving at Santa Elena on the 21st of August.

Captain Strong searched for the 'rich wreck,' and for a week employed his boats in vain in 'dragging' at a spot pointed out to him by the master of a Spanish vessel, 'who,' he says in his journal, 'told me that the wreck I looked for lay eight leagues within Point Santa Elena, in four fathoms' water, sandy ground about half-a-mile from the shore. He told me further, that she had been there about twenty-three years, and that she is entirely buried in the sand, so that now there is no sign of her. The Spaniards worked upon her with divers, and did recover some treasure, till by the greatness of the sea the sand covered her over. The Spanish captain said that there was twelve millions of monies still in her.'

From Santa Elena Captain Strong sailed to the islands of Mas-a-fuero and Juan Fernandez, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and, seeing a fire on an elevated part of the island, sent a boat ashore, which brought off two Englishmen, who were two of the five men that left Edward Davis's ship, when he touched at Juan Fernandez on his return to the Atlantic, in December, 1687, as already related. Of the five buccaneers one had joined some Spaniards who had touched at the island, and the others, with their four slaves, embarked with Captain Strong, who sailed on the 22nd of October for the coast of Chili. On the 10th of November, the

Welfare arrived off the entrance of the river Biobio, and on the following day sent a boat ashore, but, on the crew landing, eleven of them were seized by the Spaniards, including three of the buccaneers whom he had rescued.* Captain Strong made no effort to effect the rescue of his men, beyond depositing a letter on the shore demanding their good treatment, and sailed on the following day for the Straits of Magellan, through which he passed in five days. Hence he proceeded to the West Indies, and afterwards to England, where he arrived in June, 1691; the loss to the owners of the *Welfare* by the voyage being 12,000 dollars.

In 1695, the French Government fitted out a squadron of six ships for an expedition against the Spaniards in the South Seas, which sailed on the 3rd of June from Rochelle, under command of M. de Gennes, a captain in the French navy.† After visiting Goree, which had been recaptured from the English two years before, and receiving the surrender on the 24th July of fort St. James, belonging to this country, M. de Gennes sailed from the west coast of Africa on the 25th August, for the Cape de Verde Islands and Brazil, and on the 5th January, 1696, proceeded thence to the Straits of Magellan. During the months of February and March, the squadron was battling with adverse winds in the vain effort to pass into the Pacific Ocean, and on the

* While on the coast of Chili, Captain Strong learned that Lieutenant Armiger, who had been left at Valdivia by Captain Narborough in 1670, had been executed in 1686 by the Spaniards, who accused him of treason.

† An account of this expedition was written by an officer on board the flagship, named Froger, of which an English translation was published in 1698. The ships of the expedition were the *Le Faucon Anglais*, 46 guns, and 260 men; *Le Soliel d'Afrique*, 32 guns and 220 men; *Le Seditieux*, 26 guns and 140 men; *La Felicité*, 8 guns and 40 men; and two storeships.

5th April it was decided that they should abandon the attempt. M. de Gennes sailed to Brazil and the West Indies, and arrived at Rochelle in April, 1697, the expedition having been wholly unproductive of results owing to the mismanagement of the commander, who lost valuable time on his way to the Straits of Magellan, which he did not reach until the advent of winter.

Encouraged by the discoveries on the Californian coast of Francisco de Ulloa and Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, and on the western coasts of America by Vizcaino in 1603, already detailed, the Spaniards made attempts to conquer and colonise California. Early in 1683, Don Isidro Otondo sailed from Nueva Galicia with two ships, and established a settlement in 24° 45′ at Port de la Paz (formerly De Cortes), but the Spaniards treacherously murdered some of the natives called Guaycuros, and the place was abandoned in July. In the following October, Otondo formed a second settlement at a place he named San Bruno in a large bay in 26° 30′, but in September, 1685, he abandoned this also on the plea of scarcity of provisions and returned to New Spain.* The next attempt to colonise California was made by the Jesuit father, Juan Maria Salvatierra, who having received the authorisation of his government, on the 10th of October, 1697, sailed from the river Hiaqui with a galiot and a military guard of nine soldiers. A landing was made on the 19th of October, in a bay a few miles south of San Bruno, called San Domingo, and a fortified settlement, named Presidio de Loreto, was formed one-and-a-half mile inland, 'the Padre, who was a strong man, marching the foremost of his company carrying a load on his shoulders.' The galiot returned to the Hiaqui

* Accounts of these and other voyages are to be found in the 'Noticia de la California,' and 'Recueil de Voyages au Nord.'

for more soldiers and provisions, and this semi-military, semi-ecclesiastical mission made further progress, until early in the year 1700 we find that the colonists from New Spain numbered 600, and the Jesuit missionaries reported that they had founded four towns, in which over 2600 converts resided, and that the coast for a distance of 150 miles acknowledged their sway.

A second mission, called after Francis Xavier, was formed, of which a Jesuit father, Ugarte, undertook the management, and others were organised by these enterprising priests, so that from the accession of Philip V., who directed that State support should be given to the settlers, the dominion of the Spaniards over California may be said to be established. It was not fully known whether California was an island or part of the Continent, and De Lisle, the geographer, observes that, in 1695, it is represented on a chart sent to the French Academy as an island; but in 1701, the Jesuit fathers Salvatierra and Kino (the latter of whom in the preceding year, when proceeding northward from the river Hiaqui, saw from the top of a mountain the junction of the river Colorado with the sea) journeyed in company to the Colorado, for the purpose of solving this geographical problem. Salvatierra writes: 'Having landed on the side of New Spain, and having travelled along by the coast until I had certain information from the Indians near the Colorado that they had communication by land with the Indians of California, and not trusting wholly to the said information, I journeyed on in company with P. Eusebio Francisco Kino, until from a mountain not very high, we could discern the woody mountains of California join with those of New Spain.' The next year, says Burney, Kino again verified the junction by another journey to the river Colorado, until he came to

it at a part distant from the sea, and followed its course till it fell into the Californian Gulf.

A strange and forgotten chapter in our history is the record of the ill-fated Scotch Colony formed at Darien, at the close of the seventeenth century. 'The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies,' as it was called, was formed by an Act of the Scotch Parliament, sanctioned by William III. in 1695, and subscriptions of nearly £500,000 were received. But at the instance of a clergyman of the name of Paterson, it was decided that the colony should be established at Darien, thence to engage in commerce with Japan, China, and the Moluccas.

On the 17th July, 1698, the expedition, consisting of five ships—the *Caledonia*, fifty guns; *St. Andrew* and *Unicorn*, forty guns each, and two tenders—having on board 1200 men, sailed from the Frith of Forth, and passing round the Orkneys, touched at Madeira, and on 27th October anchored near the entrance of the Gulf of Darien. The ships moved to Golden Island, and having completed negotiations with the Indians of the mainland for the formation of a settlement at a place called Acla, or Acta, nearly opposite to Golden Island, they erected houses and defensive works and began to clear the land for cultivation. To the town they gave the name of New Edinburgh, and to the settlement that of New Caledonia; but though more colonists arrived from Scotland, King William refused to countenance the settlers, and issued a proclamation requiring his subjects in the West India plantations to assist them with neither arms nor provisions. The Spaniards, backed up by the Spanish ambassador at the court of St. James, resented this interference with their rights at Darien, and though the Scotch Parliament petitioned the king in favour of

their countrymen, the colony languished owing to the want of supplies, and being blockaded by a Spanish force, the colonists were compelled, in 1700, to abandon the country with their effects and returned to Scotland. For his conduct in this affair, King William has always been blamed with much asperity by his subjects north of the Tweed; but Queen Anne, who succeeded to the crown two years later, did much to allay the discontent of the sufferers by this failure.

In 1698, the French attempted the establishment of colonies in South America, and an expedition consisting of two ships of fifty guns, a frigate and a barque, under the command of a captain in the French navy, named De Beauchesne Gouin, sailed from Rochelle on the 17th December.* The two smaller vessels soon returned to France, but the *Phelippeaux* and *Maurepas*, the latter commanded by M. de Terville, arrived at the Straits of Magellan on the 24th June, and on the 3rd July at Port Famine, where they opened communications with the inhabitants of the opposite shore of Tierra del Fuego. Beauchesne followed the practice of some of his predecessors, in re-naming places that had already been marked on Spanish and English charts. Owing to the winds being adverse, though they got under weigh not less than eighty times, it was not until the 21st January, 1700, nearly seven months after entering the Straits, that they passed into the South Sea. The ships visited Valdivia, where the forts fired upon them and drove them off, and other places, including Arica, where they sold 50,000 crowns worth of goods, and Ylo, a few

* An account of this voyage appears in the 'Navigation aux Terres Australes,' being the abstract of a journal kept by Le Sieur de Villefort, enseigne de vaisseau, on board the commodore's ship; and a second account in the 'Noticias de las Expediciones al Magalhanes.'

leagues to the northward. On the 7th June, the ships anchored at the Galapagos Islands, and returning to the coasts of Peru and Chili, proceeded to the southward, and rounded Cape Horn in January, 1701. On the 19th January they discovered an island in 52° 50′ S. (according to De Villefort), which was named after M. de Beauchesne; and on the following day anchored at the south-eastern part of the Falkland Islands. After touching at Brazil for provisions, the ships arrived at Rochelle on the 6th August.

Mention should be made in this place of the two voyages made by Dr. Halley, who, at the instance of the Royal Society, was given the command of a vessel of the Royal Navy, an unprecedented circumstance, in order to proceed to the South Atlantic, to carry on his observations for discovering the laws by which the variation of the magnetic needle is governed. The vessel placed at his disposal, named the *Paramour*, took her final departure from St. Helen's, on the 29th November, 1698; but Dr. Halley, finding that the officers thwarted him, through jealousy of a civilian being placed in authority over them, returned to England after visiting the Cape de Verde Islands, and some of the West India group. In the following September he departed on his second voyage, and having made many traverses in a high southern latitude, arrived in the Thames on the 6th September, 1700.†

A memorable voyage, undertaken by a remarkable man, purely for purposes of discovery, was that of Captain William Dampier, to Australia and New Guinea, an admirable account of which he published under the title

* Dr. Halley's journal appears in Dalrymple's 'Collection of Voyages to the Southern Atlantic' (1775), and Halley himself published his Map of Magnetic Variations in 1701.

of 'A Voyage to New Holland.'* It was a Government undertaking, and the Admiralty, then presided over by the Earl of Pembroke, selected Dampier for the command, and gave him the *Roebuck*, a twelve-gun ship-of-war, carrying a crew of fifty men and boys, with twenty months' provisions. Dampier sailed from the Downs on the 14th January, 1699, and visiting the Cape de Verde Islands, crossed the line, where took place, according to the time-honoured custom, the usual 'savage masquerade' of which Byron speaks:

> 'Such as appears to rise out from the deep,
> When o'er the line the merry vessels sweep,
> And the rough saturnalia of the tar
> Flock o'er the deck, in Neptune's borrow'd car.'

Touching at Brazil, they rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and steering across the Indian Ocean, passed close to the shoal laid down in the charts as Houtman's Abrolhos, on which the Dutch ship *Batavia* was wrecked in June, 1629.† On the 1st August, Dampier sighted the western coast of Australia, and on the 6th anchored in a roadstead situated in about 25° S. lat., to which he gave the name of Shark's Bay, but which was hitherto known as Dirk Hartog's Reede, after the first European who in 1616 visited this western coast of Australia. On the 14th August he finally sailed out of the Sound, and proceeded to the northward and eastward, passing a number of small islands between the 21st and 23rd, one

* Dampier mentions, in his journal, a circumstance which is, perhaps, worth noting. He says that the stormy petrel received its name from the sailors 'in allusion to St. Peter's walking upon the Lake of Genesereth, for as they fly they pat the water alternately with their feet as if they walked upon it, though still upon the wing.'

† An account of the wreck of the *Batavia*, Captain Pelsart, may be found in the first part of 'Relation de Divers Voyages Curieux.'

of which he called Rosemary. Dampier landed at several points on the coast of Australia to search for water and make observations, but was careful not to come into collision with the natives. On the 31st August, however, the latter succeeded in wounding one of his men, whom he had detached towards them ; the sailor, finding that they were bent on killing him, after firing off his gun to scare them, took aim and shot one of the pursuers, whereupon the others retired. Notwithstanding the life of adventure and possible crime he had led as a buccaneer, Dampier shows his humanity by the observation: 'I returned back to the boat, designing to attempt the natives no further, being sorry for what had already happened.' The crew of the *Roebuck* suffered most from want of water, being unable to procure any ; and as the health of his men was failing, on the 5th September he quitted the coast and shaped his course for Timor, which he made on the 14th. On the 22nd he anchored near the Dutch fort Concordia at Coupang, and in October proceeded to a Portuguese settlement on the north side of Timor, of which he gives a full description in his journal.

Having refitted and revictualled his ship, Dampier sailed on the 20th of December for New Guinea, the western coast of which he sighted on New Year's Day of the eighteenth century. Passing some high islands, on the 7th of January, he named Mackerel Bay, on the mainland, from the great catch of that fish, and on the following day anchored in a bay, near the mouth of a river, which he called Freshwater Bay ; and continuing his course on the 10th, passed an island* he named

* This island Dampier places in 3° 4′ S., but Lieutenant McCluer, of the Indian Navy, when exploring these seas in the *Panther*, in 1790-91, puts it in 2° 58′ S.

White, from the colour of its cliffs. Steering still to the northward, against adverse winds, among some islands, he anchored at one he named Pulo Sabuda, and on the 4th of February rounded the north-west cape of New Guinea, called by the Dutch Cape Mabo—a name Schouten gives to the opposite eastern extremity of Gillolo—when the course was directed to the eastward, along the Guinea coast. Dampier visited some of the neighbouring islands, to one of which he gave the name of Cockle Island, from the shellfish found there, one of which he said afforded 'wholesome good meat for seven or eight men,' and some had shells weighing seventy-eight pounds, and even 258 pounds. Other islands he visited were named Pigeon Island, after the numerous flocks of these birds, and King William's Island. On the 15th of September they sighted an island to which Dampier gave the name of Providence, 'because it was by mere Providence that we missed running upon it; to the southward of this is William Schouten's Island, which is high and about twenty leagues long.' On the following day they crossed the line, and steering out to sea to the northward of the group Schouten called the 'twenty-five islands' (subsequently renamed the Admiralty Isles), on the 25th February he sighted and named Matthias Island, and on the following day others, the largest of which he called Squally Island.

Dampier again made the mainland, now known as New Britain, when forty-six proas, filled with about 200 natives, came close to the ship which they attacked with stones, but dispersed upon a round-shot being fired among them. Leaving this place, which he called Slinger's Bay, in the first week of March he passed the islands laid down in the Dutch charts as Gerrit Denys, Antony Kaan, and St. John. On the 8th of

March he named a headland to the south, situated in 5° 5′ S., Cape St. George, distant 1290 miles from Cape Mabo, according to his reckoning; and finding that the land trended away to the south-west, crossed St. George's Bay, and on the 12th of March passed a cape he named Orford, 'in honour of my noble patron.' On the 14th he put into a bay he named Port Montague, in 6° 10′ S., where he replenished his supply of wood and water.

Finding that the natives repulsed all attempts to exchange any provisions but cocoanuts, Dampier, whose humane conduct throughout his voyage cannot be too highly commended, consented to allow a party of his men to proceed on shore and compel them to part with some of their live stock. By dint of a little firmness and the discharge of a few musket-shots, the men dispersed the hostile array of natives and seized some hogs, leaving behind articles in exchange. Dampier sailed thence on the 22nd of March, and proceeded through the straits dividing New Britain and New Guinea, which have been named after their discoverer. The north-east promontory of New Guinea he named King William's Cape, and the land he had discovered to be an island, and not a portion of New Guinea, he called Nova Britannia. He says: 'It ends with two remarkable capes, distant from each other six or seven leagues; the north-west cape I called Cape Glocester, and the south-west point Cape Anne.' A small volcanic island he named Burning Isle, and 'a high island, eleven or twelve leagues long, I called Sir George Rooke's Island.' Proceeding to the westward, along the north coast of New Guinea, he named Long Island, Crown Isle, Sir Robert Rich's Island, and another Burning Island (the Brandende Burgh of Schouten. On the 14th of April he again passed Schouten and Providence Island (which he

had sighted on the 15th of September); on the 17th he passed King William's Island, and, on the following day, Cape Mabo. On the 26th the *Roebuck* made the island of Ceram, and on the 14th of May anchored at Timor, whence she sailed on the 24th, and on the 3rd of July reached Batavia. Here Dampier remained until the 17th of October, when he sailed for England, making a stay at the Cape of Good Hope between the 30th of December and the 11th of January, 1701, and at St. Helena between the 2nd and 13th of February.

On the 22nd February, when in sight of the island of Ascension, the ship sprung a leak, which increased so rapidly owing to the decayed condition of her timbers and the unskilfulness of the carpenter and his crew, who, in order to come at the leak, cut away the 'ceiling'* and 'foot-hook' timbers, that Dampier warped the ship near shore and landed all his men and stores. Turtles, goats, and birds were abundant, but the great want was fresh water, though two days after landing they found a spring, for which the commander in his journal expresses his thankfulness to the Almighty. Occasionally ships passed the island, though they were unable to attract their notice; but on the 3rd April, H.M.'s ships *Anglesey*, *Hastings*, and *Lizard*, and the East India Company's ship *Canterbury*, came to anchor in the bay. Captain Dampier and his men were taken on board the ships, which sailed on the 8th April; but missing the island of St. Jago, bore away for Barbadoes, whence Captain Dampier, accompanied by six of his officers, sailed on

* The 'ceiling' is the lining, or planks, on the inside of a ship's frame, which are placed on the flat of the floor, and carried up to the hold-beams. Another term is 'foot-waling.' 'Foot-hook,' or more commonly 'futtock' timbers, are separate pieces of timber which compose the frame: there are four or five futtocks, component parts of the rib.

the 8th May, for England, in the *Canterbury*. The results of this voyage were of considerable importance to geographical science, especially the circumnavigation of the island of New Britain, and the discovery of the Dampier Straits.*

Dampier was a man of too active habits to rest on his laurels, and when, on the death of William III., war broke out with France and Spain on account of the disputed succession, he was offered and accepted the command of two privateers, fitted out by some merchants to cruise against the Spaniards in the South Seas. On the 30th April, 1703, Captain Dampier sailed from the Downs in the *St. George*, of twenty-six guns and 120 men, and proceeded to Kinsale, where he was joined by the *Cinque Ports*, a galley having sixteen guns and sixty-three men, commanded by Charles Pickering. It was not until the 11th September that Dampier finally sailed on his voyage, an account of which was written by William Funnel,† a steward, afterwards rated as midshipman on board the *St. George*. On October 7th

* For an account of the explorations and discoveries of Captain Dampier in Australasia, see a biography written by Admiral Smyth, vol. xiii. of Pinkerton's 'Collection,' and Harris's 'Voyages,' vol. i. pp. 85-130, in which is a map of his discoveries in New Guinea.

† Dampier, on his return, published a contradiction of some of the statements of Funnel, who displayed equal ignorance and mendacity. Among his assertions was one to the effect that on the outward voyage, on December 29, 1703, they sighted the Falkland Islands, founding upon this falsehood a string of pretended observations, the fact being that those islands were not seen. Funnel's narrative was published in 1707 by the bookseller who had published Dampier's other three voyages from his manuscript journals, under the title of the 'Fourth Volume of Dampier's Voyages;' but Dampier, who arrived in England after the quondam steward, disgusted with his 'chimerical relation,' published a small memoir he called his 'Vindication,' though he unfortunately never wrote a correct narrative, and Funnel's retains its place.

the ships anchored at Porto Praya, in St. Jago, when Dampier discharged to the shore his first lieutenant, Mr. Huxford, because he could not agree with the owner's agent. In November the ships arrived at Isla Grande on the Brazilian coast, where Captain Pickering died, and was succeeded in the command of the galley by his lieutenant, Thomas Stradling. Here also another quarrel occurred on board the *St. George*, owing chiefly to the agent, Morgan, which resulted in the discharge of Lieutenant Barnaby and eight men.

Dampier sailed from Brazil on the 8th December, and anchored at Juan Fernandez on the 7th February, 1704, the *Cinque Ports* arriving three days later. While at the island refitting the ships, the crew of the galley mutinied, and forty-two of them went on shore, but returned on board after an absence of two days, on the interposition of Dampier. A strange sail was sighted on the 29th February, upon which the two ships slipped their cables, leaving the boats at their moorings, and made all sail in chase. At daylight on the following morning, the *St. George* came up with the chase, which was discovered to be a French privateer, and an action ensued which was terminated by the French vessel making her escape; the *St. George*, which was alone engaged, the *Cinque Ports* only firing a few shots, had nine men killed in the engagement. As the English ships were approaching the island to pick up their anchors, boats, and the other stores they had landed, they sighted two strange sail, upon which, Dampier, considering that he was not in a condition to engage two large French privateers, bore up for the coast of Peru. They cruised about for some time in the neighbourhood of Callao, without picking up any prizes which was the chief object of the voyage, as the officers and men were in receipt of

no wages, but agreed to divide the plunder with the owners. At length they made prizes of Spanish ships on the 24th and 31st October, dismissing the vessels after taking their boats and such of the cargoes as they required, and on the 11th April captured a small craft of fifty tons which Dampier fitted as a tender. They remained at the island of Gallo between the 12th and 17th April, on which day they took another small Spanish vessel, and on the 25th anchored near the Gulf of San Miguel. Two days later, Captains Dampier and Stradling embarked, with 102 of their men, in the tender and three Spanish launches, to surprise the town of Santa Maria in the Bay of Panama; but their advance was discovered, and the enterprise was abandoned. Near the mouth of the Santa Maria river, however, they secured a quantity of provisions, the stock of nine months embarked at Kinsale being now almost consumed; and on the 6th May captured a large Spanish ship laden with flour, sugar, brandy, wine, salt, and thirty tons of marmalade.*

As Captains Dampier and Stradling could not agree regarding the future plan of operations, they parted company on the 19th May, when the former sailed for the coast of Peru, leaving the *Cinque Ports* in the Bay of Panama. Dampier captured some small vessels, but none of great value, and released them after removing anything he stood in need of. He now returned to the northward with a tender, and in August arrived in the Gulf of Nicoya, and careened the *St. George* for repairs in the Middle Islands in that gulf. On the 2nd September his chief mate, John Clipperton, quarrelled with

* See 'Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas,' by Captain James Burney, R.N., to which admirable work we are greatly indebted for our materials.

him, and together with twenty-one of his men, seized on a prize of forty tons, in which Dampier had stored some of his guns with all the powder and shot, and some bread and flour, and making sail, sent a message to the rest of the ship's company, sixty-four in number, to join him. Not finding his invitation accepted by any, Clipperton landed some of the ammunition and quitted the gulf. Three weeks after this affair, Dampier, having patched up his ship, which was found 'to be eaten in many places like a honey-comb, and we could thrust our hands through some of the planks,' sailed to the northward, and after visiting various places, and taking some small prizes, on the 6th December, near Port de Navidad, sighted the treasure galleon from Manilla, to intercept which was the object of their cruise. A short engagement ensued, but the five-pounders of the *St. George* were no match for the eighteen and twenty-four pounders of the galleon, which moreover was too strongly manned to be carried by boarding, so Captain Dampier was soon obliged to sheer off, the enemy's shot having driven in large pieces of his decayed planking. This was one of the few instances in which Spanish ships, even of the size and strength in guns and men of this Acapulco galleon, were able successfully to resist the attacks of English vessels.

The preceding pages are full of instances in which the Spaniards on shore and afloat appeared as helpless to resist the attack of English buccaneers and privateersmen, as if they were unarmed, from which we would gather that their luxurious mode of living, due to their employing slaves to do their labour, and the ease with which they amassed riches, must have enervated the countrymen of Charles V. and Alva. Among the most important results of the wonderful series of discoveries,

commencing with those of Vasco de Gama and Columbus, was the impetus given to commercial enterprise, by which the mercantile classes found new channels in which to dispose of the manufactures of their own country and to receive in return the produce of the newly-found lands, while the manufacturer and artisan found a new field for their labour in providing for the foreign markets. By these events also, that large section of the community which is known as the 'middle class' attained an influence in the state, which they did not before possess, while the feudal system received a blow from which it has never recovered. But this eventful change in European history was not productive of unalloyed good, for the love of wealth which, when kept within judicious bounds, is one of the elements of a nation's prosperity, became a prevailing passion among the Spaniards, who, fired by the knowledge of the natural wealth of Peru and Mexico, gave vent to their insatiable avarice, and, in the pursuit of gold, committed atrocities at which justice and humanity recoil. In the result, the vast riches thus acquired became its own Nemesis, and far from conducing to the welfare of Spain, the acquisition of so much gold, without the demand of commodities in return, engendered a spirit of indolence, which sapped the foundations of the nation's prosperity, no less than its moral greatness. As the Spaniards decayed, the power of England increased, owing chiefly to the enterprise and valour of her seamen, by which were thrown open to British commerce—

> 'The gorgeous East, the golden South,
> And, in full prime, that new-discovered world,
> Where flames the falling day.'

To continue our narrative of Captain Dampier's voyage.

On the 26th January, 1705, Captain Dampier anchored in Amapalla Bay, but as a portion of his crew, including William Funnel, wished to proceed to the East Indies, he made them over a prize brigantine of seventy tons, with a proportion of the stores and four guns, and continued on the American coast in the *St. George*, with twenty-nine men. Dampier's next exploit was to plunder the town of Puna; but the *St. George* was soon found to be in too decayed a state to float, so, embarking on board a prize brigantine, he abandoned his old ship riding at her anchors, at the small isles called Lobos de la Mar, and sailed to Batavia, where, not being able to produce his commission—which Woodes Rogers says he lost at Puna, though Shelvocke acccuses Clipperton of having stolen it—the Dutch seized his vessel and goods, and kept him for a time in confinement. Funnel, whose narrative may be perused in vol. i. of Harris's 'Collection,' says (p. 149) that Dampier 'returned naked to his owners, with a melancholy relation of his misfortunes, occasioned chiefly by his odd temper which made him so sufficient and overbearing that few or none of his officers could endure him.' Funnel's evidence as to his late commander's temper must be received with caution, and though Dampier was unfortunate in this voyage, as in no lesser degree were Stradling and Funnel himself, yet his eminent services to geographical research entitle him to the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen.

Funnel and his companions sailed from Amapalla Bay on the 1st February, in the brigantine *St. John*, and on 11th April made the Ladrone Islands; after laying in a stock of provisions, of which they were greatly in need, they steered to the south-west, and on the 8th May sighted New Guinea. They also saw nu-

merous islands, and gave the name of St. John's Strait to a passage on the north-west side of New Guinea. On the 28th May they anchored at Amboyna, where the Dutch authorities seized the brigantine and stores, and sent the crew to Europe. At the Cape of Good Hope they met some of the men who had deserted with Clipperton from the *St. George*, in the Gulf of Nicoya, who said that after capturing two Spanish ships, they sailed to the Philippine Islands, which they reached in fifty-four days, and thence proceeded to Macao, where they distributed their plunder and dispersed. Funnel and most of his companions arrived in the Texel in July, 1706, and made their way to England, where they landed on the 26th August.

We must now give some account of the proceedings of Captain Thomas Stradling in the *Cinque Ports*, which have a special interest, as, incidentally, they give rise to the production of the most widely-read of all romances, that of De Foe's 'Robinson Crusoe.' Stradling, after separating from Dampier in the Bay of Panama, in May, 1704, cruised about, and in October proceeded to Juan Fernandez, where he found and embarked two of the seamen left by him when his ship and the *St. George* were chased from the island by the French in the preceding March. These two men had managed to elude the French who had landed on the island and taken away three of their number and the boats and stores left on the island. While the *Cinque Ports* was lying here, Alexander Selkirk, the sailing-master, had some disagreement with Captain Stradling, and demanded to be landed on the island; his request was complied with, and he was set ashore, with his clothes, bedding, books, and firelock, one pound of gunpowder, a hatchet, cooking utensils, and some tobacco. Selkirk soon repented

his rash resolve, and requested to be taken on board again, but Captain Stradling refused his petition, and sailed away, leaving him on the island, on which he remained, 'the lord of all he surveyed,' until rescued by Captain Woodes Rogers, in February, 1709.

Stradling cruised on the coast of Peru until his ship became too leaky to float, when she was run ashore, and he surrendered himself with his crew as prisoners to the Spaniards. After many years' captivity at Lima, he escaped on board a French ship.

In 1705, the Dutch Government at Batavia despatched two expeditions to explore the coast of New Guinea and New Holland, now known as Australia. The first, consisting of two small vessels, which sailed from Timor on the 1st March, explored the west coast of Australia from 11° 52′ S., and, says Struyck, 'their farther sailing was towards the east side, along the coast of New Holland, carefully noting everything except a gulf, to the end or bottom of which they did not quite go'—this gulf being, probably, that now known as the Gulf of Carpentaria. The second expedition, also consisting of two small vessels, explored the north coast of New Guinea, and a chart published by Dalrymple, from the Dutch, furnishes the best information regarding this voyage.

The French made several voyages to the South Seas, though their discoveries were unimportant. In December, 1703, two ships sailed from St. Malo, round by Cape Horn, and arrived at Concepcion, in Chili, in the following May; but declaring their ships unfit to continue the voyage by the East Indies to Europe, they returned by the Cape Horn route. In 1704, two other French ships proceeded as far as the Straits of Magellan, and, in 1706, two others, the *Maurepas* and *St. Louis*,

returned from the South Sea, touching at the Falkland Islands, to which, from the circumstance that so many seamen visited them from St. Malo, was given the name of the Malouines. In December, 1707, a man of high scientific attainments, the Père Louis Feuillée, sailed for the South Seas, under the orders of the French Government, and accurately fixed the positions of several places during his stay of three years in Peru and Chili.

The next voyage of importance succeeding that of Captain Dampier, was made by Captain Woodes Rogers, who sailed in command of two ships, fitted out by some Bristol merchants, to cruise against the Spaniards and French in the South Seas. The ships employed were the *Duke*, of 320 tons, carrying thirty guns and 183 men, and the *Duchess*, 260 tons, commanded by Captain Stephen Courtney, of twenty-six guns and 151 men. Among the officers on board the *Duke*, was Dampier, who shipped as pilot, and Thomas Dover (described as 'a doctor of physic and captain of the Marines'), second captain under Captain Rogers, who has attained a more-enduring celebrity as the inventor of the medicine known after him as 'Dover's Powders.' This officer was also made president of a council of direction, composed of the principal officers and the agent of the owners in each ship, an arrangement which, as might be supposed, gave rise to much subsequent disagreement. The expedition left Bristol for Cork, in August, 1708, and, on 1st September, sailed, to the southward.* The first prize, a small Spanish vessel, laden

* Captain Woodes Rogers published an account of this voyage in the year 1712, under the title 'A Cruising Voyage Round the World;' and Edward Cook, or Cooke, second captain of the *Duchess*, also published a narrative: but both are inferior to Dampier's journals of his previous voyages. Rogers gives a description of the coasts of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, 'but,' says Burney, 'they have more the appearance of

with wine and brandy, was captured on the 18th May. After touching at Teneriffe and St. Vincent, they visited Isla Grande, in Brazil, and, in December, passed along the north and east sides of the Falkland Islands, so called by Woodes Rogers. Rounding Cape Horn, they made the island of Juan Fernandez on the 31st January, 1709, where a fire was seen on the shore. On the following day, Captain Dover was sent on shore in the yawl, and, on landing, was met by a man waving a white flag, who accosted him in English, and proved to be Alexander Selkirk, who had been left by Captain Stradling on the island more than four years before.

Of this memorable encounter with the original of Robinson Crusoe, Captain Rogers says in his narrative:

'Our yawl which we had sent ashore did not return so soon as was expected, so we sent our pinnace, armed, to see the occasion of her stay. The pinnace returned immediately from the shore, and brought abundance of craw-fish, with a man clothed in goats' skins, who looked more wild than the first owners of them. He had been on the island four years and four months. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who had been master of the *Cinque Ports* galley, a ship which came here with Captain Dampier, who told me that this was the best man in her; so I immediately agreed with him to be a mate on board our ship. It was he that made the fire last night, judging our ships to be English. During his stay on Juan Fernandez, he saw several ships pass by, but two only anchored. He went to view them, and finding them to be Spaniards, retired from them, upon which they shot at him. He said, if they had been French, he would have surrendered

being drawn up from charts and descriptions before published.' Cooke's journal and charts are inferior to those of Rogers.

himself to them; but the Spaniards in these parts he apprehended would kill him, or make a slave of him and send him to the mines. Some of the Spaniards came so near him that he had difficulty to make his escape. They not only shot at him, but pursued him into the woods, where he concealed himself by climbing into a tree. He was born at Largo in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and had been bred to the sea from his youth. The reason of his being left at Juan Fernandez was a difference between him and the captain, Stradling. He had with him a firelock, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, and other things, with which he provided for himself very well as to food and lodging; but for the first eight months he had much ado to bear up against melancholy. He built two huts, which he covered with long grass and lined with goats' skins; in one he dressed his victuals, in the other he slept. He got fire by rubbing two pieces of pimento wood together. He employed himself much in singing psalms and praying. He was at first distressed by the want of bread and salt, but at length came to relish his meat well enough without either. When his gunpowder failed, he took the goats by speed of foot, for his way of living and continual exercise of walking and running, cleaned him of gross humours, so that he could run with wonderful swiftness through woods and up rocks and hills. He kept an account of 500 goats that he killed whilst there; and he caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let go. His agility in pursuing a goat had once nearly cost him his life; he pursued with so much eagerness that he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes having hid it from him, so that he fell with the goat down the said precipice, a great height, and was so stunned and bruised

with the fall, that he narrowly escaped with life ; and when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there twenty-four hours before he could crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distant, and could not stir abroad again for many days.

'In the season he had plenty of good turnips, which had been sown there by Captain Dampier's men, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had cabbage from the cabbage trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the pimento, which is the same as the Jamaica pepper.' He found also a black pepper, called Malagita, which was very good in stomach complaints. He soon wore out all his shoes and clothes by running through the woods, and at last, by being accustomed to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran everywhere without annoyance, and it was some time before he could wear shoes after he was with us, for not being used to any for so long, his feet swelled when he came to wear them again. He was at first much pestered with cats and rats that had bred in great numbers from some of each species, which had got on shore from ships that put in here to wood and water ; but by cherishing the cats with pieces of goat's flesh, they became so tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed some kids, and to divert himself, would sing and dance with them and his cats ; so that by the care of Providence, and vigour of his youth, being now about thirty* years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be very easy.

'When his clothes were worn out, he made himself a coat and cap of goat-skins, which he stitched together

* According to the 'Remarkable Adventures of Alexander Selkirk,' printed at Bristol, he was born in or about the year 1676.

with little thongs of the same, cut with his knife. He had no other needle than a nail; and when his knife was worn to the back, he made others of iron hoops that were left ashore. The climate is so good at Juan Fernandez, that the trees and grass are verdant all the year. The winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe; but sometimes there are great rains. He saw no venomous creature on the island.'

Captain Edward Cook says: 'This man was commonly called Alexander Selkirk, but his right name was Selcrag; who, being left on the island, Juan Fernandez, lived there four years and four months without human society. When the first boat landed, he saluted the new-comers with much joy, and invited the officers to his habitation. The way to it was very much hidden and uncouth, and only Lieutenant Foy would bear him company. Having with much difficulty climbed up and crept down many rocks, they came at last to a pleasant spot of ground full of grass, and furnished with trees, where were two small huts indifferently built, one being the lodging-room, and the other the kitchen. His bed was raised from the ground on a bedstead of his own contriving, and consisted of goat-skins. About the habitation were a number of goats, which he had bred up tame. He had provided goat's flesh to entertain his guests, which after their long run at sea was no small dainty. It was with some difficulty he was persuaded to go on board, on account of a certain officer that he heard was there; yet upon promise of being restored to his former dwelling, if not satisfied, he at length complied, and found such entertainment as made him not long for his solitary retreat.'

It has been said, to the prejudice of the author of the 'Serious Romance,' that he made unfair use of the

information afforded to him by Selkirk ; but no such charge was made against De Foe in his lifetime, while it is certain that Selkirk, during his voyage to England, confided all particulars of his strange life to Rogers and Cook, who published their accounts of him in 1712, and 'Robinson Crusoe' did not appear until seven years later. Moreover, Selkirk gave an account of himself to Sir Richard Steele, who published it in his paper, the *Englishman*, of December 1713. He says: 'It was a matter of great curiosity to hear him as he was a man of sense, give an account of the different resolutions in his own mind in that long solitude.'

Novelists have taken for their texts the incidents of Selkirk's simple story, and some of our greatest poets, from Cowper to Tennyson, have found a peculiar charm in this episode in the life of the Scottish seaman. One of the finest descriptive passages we owe to the genius of the present Laureate, is that in which he depicts the tropical island in which the castaway seaman, Enoch Arden, passes ten solitary years :

'The mountain wooded to the peak, the lawns
And winding glades high up like ways to heaven,
The slender coco's drooping crown of plumes,
The lightning-flash of insect and of bird,
The lustre of the long convolvuluses
That coil'd around the stately stems and ran
Even to the limits of the land, the glows
And glories of the broad belt of the world,
All these he saw ; but what he fain had seen
He could not see, the kindly human face,
Nor ever hear a kindly voice, but heard
The myriad shriek of wheeling ocean-fowl,
The league-long roller thundering on the reef,
The moving whisper of huge trees that branch'd
And blossom'd in the zenith, or the sweep
Of some precipitous rivulet to the wave,
As down the shore he rang'd, or all day long

Sat often in the seaward-gazing gorge,
A shipwreck'd sailor waiting for a sail:
No sail from day to day, but every day
The sunrise broken into scarlet shafts
Among the palms, and ferns, and precipices;
The blaze upon the waters to the east;
The blaze upon his island overhead;
The blaze upon the waters to the west;
Then the great stars that globed themselves in heaven,
The hollower-bellowing ocean, and again
The scarlet shafts of sunrise—but no sail.'

The English ships made a fortnight's stay at Juan Fernandez, during which the sick, numbering over fifty, were landed with such beneficial results, that all but two recovered; and, on the 14th February 1709, Captain Rogers sailed, Selkirk being appointed second mate on board his ship, the *Duke*. Steering along the coast of Peru, on the 15th March, they captured a small barque, from the crew of which they learned that Selkirk's old ship, the *Cinque Ports*, had foundered on the coast, and those Englishmen who had been saved, including Captain Stradling, were prisoners at Lima. The ships were cleaned and refitted at the Lobos de la Mar Islands, and in April captured five prizes, one of which offered resistance, causing the loss of Mr. John Rogers, the captain's brother, and four men. As the pecuniary result of these successes was very small, Captain Rogers, in the latter part of April, surprised Puna, and captured Guayaquil, where they acquired plunder to the extent of about £2000, besides obtaining provisions and 27,000 dollars as ransom for sparing the town and shipping.

The crews of the *Duke* and *Duchess* contracted a severe fever at Guayaquil, whence they sailed with four prizes on the 8th May, and during the passage to the Galapagos group, sixty men were sick in the *Duke*, and over eighty in the *Duchess*, of whom ten died in a few

days. As they had run out of water, and none could be found in any of the Galapagos, the ships and prizes made sail for the mainland on the 26th May, with the exception of one of the latter, under the command of Mr. Simon Hatley, third mate of the *Duchess*, having a crew of five seamen and five natives, which had disappeared.*

On the 7th June, Captain Rogers anchored at the island of Gorgona, off the continent, where he careened the two ships and equipped a prize, which was renamed the *Marquis*, as a cruiser mounting twenty guns and manned with sixty seamen and seventeen blacks, Edward Cook being placed in command. The remaining prizes were resold to the Spaniards, who came over from the mainland to purchase captured goods, and the sick having recruited their health by a residence on shore in tents, the three ships sailed to the southward on the 7th August, when Captain Rogers made up the complement of his crew by securing the services of captured negroes, who promised as a reward for obtaining their liberty to 'stand to their quarters as long as the best Englishman.'

On the 10th September they were again at the Galapagos, whence they sailed on the 17th for the coast of New Mexico, with the hope of intercepting the annual ship from Manilla, and arrived off Cape Corrientes on the 2nd October. Near here, at the middle island of the Tres Marias group, they found, after much search, a copious supply of fresh water, and on the 25th proceeded off Cape Lucas in quest of the Manilla ship; but failing to meet her, on the 20th December were standing for

* Captain Rogers mentions that on his return to England, he learnt from Captain Stradling that Hatley and his men sailed to the coast of Peru, and, being in want of provisions, surrendered to the Spaniards.

Puerto Segura, intending to water and proceed to the East Indies, when they sighted a strange sail, which was captured on the morning of the 22nd after a brief action, and proved to be one of the galleons of which they were in search, a second and larger one having sailed in her company. The prize, which was named the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion*, of 400 tons, was laden with merchandise for Acapulco, and carried twenty guns and a crew of 193 men, of whom nine were killed and several wounded. Only two of the crew of the *Duke* were wounded, one of them being Captain Rogers, through whose cheek a musket-ball passed, carrying away part of the upper jaw and several of his teeth. They returned to Puerto Segura, where they arrived on the 23rd, and on the following day, whilst the *Duke* with her tender and the prize refitted, the *Duchess* and *Marquis* took up a station off Cape San Lucas to watch for the larger galleon. On the 25th some look-out men Captain Rogers had placed on a hill, made signals that three sail were in sight in the offing. Hastily putting all his prisoners into the tender, from which he took all the arms, sails, boats and rudder, and anchoring her a mile from the Manilla prize, charge of which he gave to Captain Dover with twenty-two men, Captain Rogers stood out to sea in the *Duke* to the assistance of his consorts.

The stranger proved to be the long-expected galleon from Manilla, named the *Bigonia*, of 900 tons and carrying forty guns; but their expectations of a rich reward for all their patience and sufferings were destined to be disappointed. After chasing her the whole day the *Duchess* brought her to action, and with great gallantry engaged her unsupported for two hours; but being severely mauled by her great antagonist, was compelled

to drop astern to wait for the *Marquis*. On the afternoon of the 26th, the two ships renewed the action, which was kept up with unabated resolution until dark. During the night the *Duke* joined her consorts, and at daylight of the 27th, all three ships fell upon the enemy, but with no better success, as her sides were so thick that the six-pounder shot of the English ships could not penetrate her hull, while her crew of 400 men, including 150 Europeans, rendered any attempt to carry her by boarding a too dangerous experiment. Shortly before noon the English ships drew off, having suffered severely—the *Duchess* losing twenty-five men killed and wounded, and the other two, thirteen men wounded, among the number being Captain Rogers, who was struck by a splinter on the left heel and ankle. They returned to Puerto Seguro, and having released their Spanish prisoners brought from Guayaquil, for a bond for 6,000 dollars payable in London, and giving them a tender in which to proceed to Acapulco, they placed a prize crew on board the captured galleon in addition to the thirty-six native seamen captured in her, and changed her name to the *Batchelor*, after a Bristol alderman of that name.

A dispute arose among the committee as to the selection of a commander, and, ultimately, three were appointed, Captain Dover, President of the Council of Direction and second captain of the *Duke* being chief supercargo as representing the owners, and two others directing the navigation, under whom Alexander Selkirk acted as sailing-master. On the 10th January, 1710, the four ships sailed in company for the East Indies, laden with a valuable cargo consisting of silks, satins, spices, and plate and money to the value of £12,000; and on the 10th March anchored at Guahan, where

they were permitted to lay in supplies on condition of abstaining from hostilities. After a stay of eleven days, they sailed from the Ladrone Islands, and, on the 19th June, arrived at Batavia, where the *Marquis* being found unfit to proceed to Europe, was sold, and her crew distributed among the other ships. The three remaining vessels sailed on the 23rd October, and on the 28th December anchored at Cape Town, where they waited until the 6th April, when they weighed in company with sixteen Dutch and six English ships. Sailing by the route known as 'North About,' that is, round the north of Scotland, the whole fleet anchored at the Texel on the 23rd July. Here Captain Rogers remained with his ships for some months, as the owners were apprehensive of proceedings from the East India Company for infringing their charter, though, beyond obtaining supplies at Batavia, they had abstained from dealings in the East Indies. At length, at the end of September, the ships sailed from Texel, and on the 14th October, 1711, anchored at Erith in the Thames, after an absence from England of three years and six weeks, having during the interval circumnavigated the globe, though the incident that will ever make the voyage memorable is the recovery and return to the busy haunts of men of the solitary resident of Juan Fernandez, the original of Robinson Crusoe.

The voyage is also remarkable as being the last undertaken by that great seaman and navigator William Dampier, the explorer of the coast of Australia and New Guinea. Compelled by straitened circumstances, Dampier took service under Captain Rogers in the *Duke*, in a subordinate capacity, and there is too much reason to suppose that his latter days were passed in want as they certainly were in obscurity, for we hear no

more of him after his return to England in October, 1711, when his age would be sixty, for in his account of himself, he says that he went to sea in 1669 or 1670, being then eighteen years of age. It is certainly a melancholy circumstance that a man who, whatever the faults of his career, was a notable discoverer and ardent navigator, whose explorations of the lands and seas which now form our Australian colonies render his name only less respected in colonial annals than that of Cook, should have been suffered to pass his last days in obscurity, and too probably in want.

'But though a wild and reckless ocean ranger,
God grant he made that port, when life was o'er,
Where storms are hushed, and billows break no more.'

CHAPTER VI.

French Voyages to the South Seas—Formation of the English South Sea Company—Shelvocke's Voyage to the Pacific—The Incident of the 'Ancient Mariner'—Clipperton's Cruise in the South Seas, and Depredations on Spanish Commerce—Roggewein's Voyage and Discovery of the Friendly and other Groups of Islands—Voyage of M. Lozier Bouvet.

Some years elapsed before the English undertook further voyages to the South Seas; but several ships proceeded thither from French ports. In 1709, the *St. Jean Baptiste*, Captain Doublet, sailed from Marseilles to the Spanish settlements in Peru and Chili, and in the same year the *St. Antoine*, Captain Frondac, proceeded from China to these ports, where the cargo was sold. Many other French ships traded with the Spanish settlements, but the most noteworthy voyage was that made from St. Malo, in 1712, by the *St. Joseph*, of 350 tons, carrying 36 guns and 135 men, commanded by Captain Duchene Battas, and the *Marie*, of 120 tons, a detailed account of which, with charts and plans of cities, is given by Mr. Frezier, an officer of engineers, in his work, 'Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud.' A somewhat apocryphal account, in the form of letters of a voyage round the world, by a person named Le Gentil de la Barbinais, to which M. de Brosses has given credit, was published a few years later. Barbinais relates that he left France in August, 1714, proceeded round Cape

Horn, sailed for China from a port of Peru named Goacho on the 4th March, 1716, arrived at the Ladrones on the 30th May, and returned to France in the summer of 1718.

In connection with the navigation of the South Seas, we should here place on record the formation of the English South Sea Company, on which was conferred by the government, from the 1st August, 1711, not only the sole trade of those seas, but also the privilege obtained from Spain, by the peace of Utrecht signed in April, 1713, of supplying to the Spanish West Indies 4,800 negroes yearly, for a period of thirty years. Nothing more infamous than this monopoly, known as the 'Asiento Contract,' can be imagined, and it appears the privilege had originally been conferred on the English about the year 1689, but was transferred to France on the outbreak of the Spanish War of Succession.

In 1718 hostilities broke out with Spain, and some merchants, taking advantage of this opportunity for privateering, fitted out two ships, the *Success*, of 36 guns and 180 men, and the *Speedwell*, of 24 guns and 106 men. The command of the larger ship was conferred on Mr. George Shelvocke, formerly a lieutenant in the navy; but the owners, being dissatisfied with his conduct, removed him to the *Speedwell*, and placed in the *Success* Mr. John Clipperton, who had sailed as mate with Captain Dampier in the *St. George*, from which he had deserted.

The ships sailed* from Plymouth on 13th February,

* Narratives of this voyage were published by Captain Shelvocke in 1726, and two years later, by William Betagh, who sailed with him as captain of marines—by the former as a vindication of his conduct, and by the latter, in order to expose his commander, with whom he had been at feud.

1719, but soon after encountered a gale, when Shelvocke displayed his jealousy towards his superior officer by losing his company, and arrived at the Canary Islands, the place of rendezvous, after the *Success* had sailed. Shelvocke then steered for the Cape de Verde Islands and Brazil, off which coast he overhauled a Portuguese vessel, and sent on board his second captain, Simon Hatley, mentioned in Woodes Rogers' voyage as having been lost off Galapagos, who extorted some money which he shared with his boat's crew. The *Speedwell* remained at the island of Santa Katalina between the 19th June and 8th August, when she sailed to the southward, and in rounding Cape Horn, was forced by adverse winds to 61° 30′ S. lat. At this time occurred a circumstance which is supposed to have given rise to the incident immortalised by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in his weird poem, the 'Ancient Mariner,' written at Stowey about 1796-97. The companions of the hero, an ancient mariner, 'with a long grey beard and glittering eye,' suffer terrible hardships and perish of hunger, as a punishment for his having shot an albatross; but as he repents, he is permitted to regain the land. At intervals, however, his agony returns, and he wanders about unburdening his soul by confessing his crime and sufferings to his fellows, and enforcing upon them a lesson of love for 'all things, both great and small.' De Quincey has an essay upon this fine poem, which Swinburne, as we think, with exaggeration, describes as 'perhaps the most wonderful of all poems. In reading it we seem rapt into that paradise revealed by Swedenborg, where music and colour and perfume were one, where you could hear the hues and see the harmonies of heaven. For absolute melody and splendour it were hardly rash to call it the first poem in the language. An exquisite

instinct, married to a subtle science of verse, has made it the supreme model of music in our language.'

The lines—

'And thou art long, and lank, and brown,
As is the ribbed sea sand,'

and the verse beginning—

'He holds him with his glittering eye,'

were written by Wordsworth, who also suggested the leading idea from having read Shelvocke's 'Voyages.'

Shelvocke writes in his narrative of the circumstance that forms the groundwork of the poem, the ship being at the time off Cape Horn: 'We had continued squalls of sleet, snow, and rain, and the heavens were perpetually hid from us by gloomy dismal clouds. One would think it impossible anything could live in so rigid a climate; and indeed we all observed we had not the sight of one fish of any kind since we were come to the southward of the Strait le Maire, nor one sea-bird, except a disconsolate black albatross, who accompanied us several days, hovering about us as if he had lost himself, till Simon Hatley, my second captain, observing in one of his melancholy fits that this bird was always hovering near us, imagined from his colour that it might be some ill omen; and being encouraged in his superstition by the continued series of contrary tempestuous winds which had oppressed us ever since we had got into this sea, he, after some fruitless attempts, at length shot the albatross, perhaps not doubting that we should have a fair wind after it.' Coleridge graphically describes the situation:

'Listen, stranger! storm and wind,
A wind and tempest strong!
For days and weeks it played us freaks,
Like chaff we drove along.

'And through the drifts the snowy clifts
Did send a dismal sheen;
Ne shapes of men, ne beasts we ken—
The ice was all between.

'At length did cross an albatross,
Through the fog it came;
And an it were a Christian soul,
We hail'd it in God's name.'

The poet then describes the kindness of the sailors in feeding the albatross, the reward of which was a favouring gale:

'And a good south wind sprung up behind,
The albatross did follow;
And every day, for food or play,
Came to the marinere's hollo.

'In mist or cloud, on mast or shroud,
It perched for vespers nine;
Whiles all the night, through fog-smoke white,
Glimmer'd the white moonshine.

'"God save thee, auncyent marinere!
From the fiends that plague thee thus!
Why look'st thou so?"—"With my cross-bow
I shot the albatross."'

Then the poet avenges the death of the bird by the loss of the wind:

'Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down—'

And again:

'We did not speak, only to break
The silence of the sea.'

The deed of Simon Hatley, however, in no way affected the wind, which continued to blow adversely, and they did not sight the Chili coast until the 14th November, and anchored off the island of Chiloe on the 30th. Having procured supplies from the Spanish

settlers by the threat of violence, Shelvocke sailed on the 17th December for La Concepcion, near which he captured two small vessels, but lost three men killed and two made prisoners in an attempt to secure a third hauled up on shore. This piece of ill-fortune was retrieved by the capture of a valuable prize, when he recovered his two men by exchanging some prisoners, and on the 6th January, 1719, Shelvocke sailed with a tender named the *Mercury*, for Juan Fernandez, the second rendezvous with the *Success*, for which he ought to have made direct, according to agreement, though he purposely delayed, as he had done before in keeping the first rendezvous off the Canaries.

Shelvocke arrived on the 11th January at Juan Fernandez, which Clipperton had left three months before, and on the 15th sailed again for the American coast, where, near Arica, he took two small prizes, which were ransomed for 1540 pieces-of-eight and two jars of brandy. In the road of Guanchaco, near Truxillo, he captured a fast-sailing vessel, which he renamed the *St. David*, and manned with eleven men. Meantime the *Mercury*, which was cruising independently under command of Simon Hatley and Betagh, with a crew of fifteen men, made two prizes, but was captured by a Spanish ship-of-war. Not meeting his tender at the Lobos de la Mar, Shelvocke sailed to Payta, which he plundered of provisions and burnt, as the inhabitants refused to pay a ransom of 10,000 dollars, and narrowly escaped capture from a large Spanish man-of-war which chased him all day, as he says, 'by the old stratagem of turning a light adrift in a half-tub, and then altering my course.' His tender, the *St. David* was, however, captured on this occasion.

The *Speedwell* arrived in safety at Juan Fernandez,

where she took in a supply of water; parting her cable in a breeze of wind, and having only one anchor, she was driven ashore, and her mast went by the board; but the crew, numbering seventy-one souls, succeeded in landing in safety. The greater portion of the stores was saved, but very little provisions, and the shipwrecked crew, not being able to kill the wild goats for want of powder, were compelled to subsist on vegetables, which grew in abundance, and seals and fish, which, having lost their only boat, they were compelled to catch in small basket-work boats covered with the skins of sea-lions, which were also used to cover the huts they built.

On the 8th June they commenced to construct a new vessel, the bowsprit of the *Speedwell* serving as the keel, and on the 5th October the *Recovery*, as she was named, was launched. Her burden was twenty tons, her length thirty feet, breadth sixteen feet, and depth of hold seven feet, and she had two masts. She was equipped with the sails and rigging of the old ship and mounted one gun, and on the following day, having taken in sufficient water and provisions, Shelvocke and forty-six men sailed from the island, with a new boat they had constructed in tow, the remainder of their companions, numbering eleven Englishmen and thirteen Indians, preferring to remain on shore to risking their lives in so frail a barque, though she was not large enough to receive the whole of the crew of the late *Speedwell*. Shelvocke stood towards the mainland, and on the 10th gave chase to a Spanish vessel, upon which he opened fire with his one gun as it lay on the deck, but the Spaniards returned the fire, by which the gunner was killed and three men wounded, and the chase escaped. At Iquique Shelvocke landed and obtained a good supply of provisions and a launch, but

was repulsed in a second attempt to capture a Spanish merchantman. On the following day they had more success. Seeing a ship at anchor near Pisco, they laid the *Recovery* across her bows, and, boarding, captured her, being 'received,' says Shelvocke, 'by the captain and his officers with their hats off.' The prize proved to be the *Jesu Maria*, of 200 tons, laden with copper, timber, and pitch, and they transferred themselves to her, refusing a ransom of 16,000 dollars offered by the captain, to whom they made over the *Recovery*.

On the 26th November they again surprised the town of Payta, but found little of value, and took a small vessel laden with Peruvian wine and brandy, and, on the 13th January, 1721, anchored off the island of Quibo, where they laid in an ample supply of provisions. Three days later, near Quibo, they encountered the *Success*, from which they had parted twenty-three months before. Captain Clipperton, as superior officer, ordered Shelvocke on board his ship to give an account of his doings, but—as the *Speedwell* was no longer in existence, and the *Jesu Maria*, now renamed the *Happy Return*, was not captured from her, while by the custom of the sea, in the event of shipwreck, all claims to wages cease—he was doubtful whether he could place him in confinement, and contented himself with refusing to associate with him unless he and his crew would refund to the owners all the prize-money they had divided before leaving Juan Fernandez. As they would not consent to this, they parted company on the following day.

Captain Shelvocke captured, on the 31st March, in the road of Sonsonnate, the *Sacra Familia*, of 300 tons, laden with provisions and ammunitions, and moved into her from the *Jesu Maria*, but the governor made a

demand for her restitution on the grounds of peace being declared between Spain and England; Shelvocke, however, after some evasions, sailed away in his prize, leaving in the hands of the governor a boat's crew of his men. On the 15th May, near Amapella, Shelvocke, whose proceedings were those of a pirate, took a small vessel, and on the 19th captured, after a brief action, in which the captain was killed, a Spanish ship named the *Concepcion*, belonging to Callao, and bound to Panama, laden with provisions, and having on board, according to Betagh, 108,636 pieces-of-eight. While chasing this ship he had cast off the small barque captured four days before, and, on picking her up again, found that the Spaniards had risen on the prize crew of four men and some negroes he had placed on board, and after killing them all, had escaped to shore. Having taken everything of value out of the *Concepcion*, Shelvocke, satisfied with the plunder he had acquired, directed his course to Puerto Seguro, situated about two leagues north-east of Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of California, and having laid in a supply of water, sailed for China on the 18th August. He claims to have discovered an island, distant 110 leagues from Cape San Lucas, to which his own name was given, and on the 11th November cast anchor at Macao, where he met some of Clipperton's people, and on the 18th arrived off Whampoa.

Here the *Sacra Familia* was sold for about £1400, and Shelvocke shared the proceeds of their piracy with his men. Though he gives no particulars, Betagh states that, from a book of accounts kept by the captain's steward, it appears that 98,604 dollars were divided, of which Shelvocke received 11,325 dollars, being six shares (according to the agreement made at Juan Fer-

nandez), the share of a seaman being 1887½ dollars. Betagh also accuses the captain of defrauding the owners by appropriating to himself other sums of money. Shelvocke proceeded to England in the *Cadogan*, East Indiaman, and landed at Dover on the 30th July, 1722, but was apprehended a few days later in London, as was also his steward, their accuser being Betagh, who had been released by the Spaniards on the conclusion of peace. He was charged with piracy, but the prosecution fell to the ground; also with defrauding his employers, but succeeded in escaping out of the kingdom from the King's Bench Prison. Eventually he compromised matters with the owners of the *Speedwell*, and in 1726, published his narrative of the voyage, dedicated to the Lords of the Admiralty, in the preface to which he had the assurance to recommend merchants, in future, to select their captains from men having 'experience, accompanied with a strict disposition to honour and honesty.'

Some account should here be given of Clipperton, after his separation from Shelvocke, of whose voyage some particulars are extant from the journal of Mr. George Taylor, chief-mate of the *Success*. Clipperton entered the Straits of Magellan on the 30th May, 1719, and having lost seven men from the severity of the cold, passed into the South Sea on the 18th August, and on the 7th September arrived at Juan Fernandez. In October he sailed for the coast of Peru, off which he captured a great number of prizes, and in the latter part of November, sent one of them, loaded with his plunder, and manned with a crew of thirteen Englishmen and ten negroes, to the coast of Brazil, to dispose of the cargo, but it is supposed that she was retaken by the Spaniards. In January, 1720, the *Success* sailed to the

Galapagos Islands, thence to the Bay of Panama, where, on the 21st January, she captured the *Prince Eugene*, bound to Lima, having on board the Marquis de Villa Roche, late President of Panama, his wife and only child.

Clipperton sailed with his prize for Ria Lexa, where, the marquis having agreed to terms of ransom for himself and family, the marchioness and her child were set at liberty, the marquis being retained on board as hostage. During the year Clipperton seized many ships and plundered towns on the American coast, including Truxillo, and continued this course after November, when he heard of the signature of the treaty of peace in the preceding June. In December he sailed for the Cocos Island, where three seamen and eight negroes deserted, and in January, 1721, steered for the coast of New Spain, falling in with Shelvocke near the island of Quibo, as already related. Both vessels cruised about in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon bound to Acapulco, and encountered each other three times ; but on the 17th March, the *Success* sailed for China. She arrived at the island of Guahan, in the Ladrones, on the 13th May, having lost six men on the passage ; and the governor, on the application of the Marquis de Villa Roche, who had been a prisoner sixteen months, agreed to advance the money to procure his release. But so far from fulfilling his promise, he detained a lieutenant of the *Success* and the owner's agent, who had been on shore for the money, and refused to release them unless the marquis's jewels were given up. Clipperton endeavoured to enforce his claim by seizing a Spanish vessel in port, but his ship got ashore in the attempt, and he lost some officers and men, upon which, on the 30th May, he sailed for China. On the 2nd July, the

Success arrived at Amoy, and being considered too unseaworthy to perform the long voyage to England, was sold for the benefit of the owners, when the crew demanded a distribution of the prize-money and goods. This was agreed to by Clipperton, after some objections, real or assumed, and each man received 419 dollars, the captain fifteen shares, or 6,285 dollars, and the owner one moiety of the whole, £6,000. This sum was shipped in a Portuguese vessel, which caught fire at Rio Janeiro, and the owners only received £1,800. Clipperton did not live to enjoy the proceeds of his ill-gotten gains, but died two days after rejoining his family in Ireland.

The next voyage of importance to the South Seas, was that of Jacob Roggewein, and is in many respects very remarkable, though from the obscurity as regards his track, no voyage has created more geographical controversy. The indefatigable and learned Dalrymple devoted much research in investigating the situation of the lands discovered by Roggewein, of whose voyage two accounts appear, one published anonymously in Dutch, at Dort, in 1728, entitled 'A Two Years' Voyage Round the World;' and the second—differing from the former both in situations and dates, in the German language, at Leipsic, in 1738 (of which a French translation appeared at the Hague in the following year), written by Charles Frederick Behrens, commander of the troops in Roggewein's squadron—described by Dalrymple 'as a very poor performance, written with much ignorance;' but, he adds, 'his narrative seems to be faithful in the recital of the things he saw.'

In 1721, Roggewein, formerly of the court of justice of Batavia, presented the Dutch West India Company* a

* The West India Company was constituted in 1621, and at its prime was more powerful and wealthy than the better known East

memorial similar to one already laid before them by his father in 1669, for the prosecution of the discovery of the Southern Continent and the adjacent islands ; and in accordance with his plans, three ships were fitted out under his command, and sailed from the Texel on the 20th August in that year. The squadron consisted of the *Arens* (Eagle) thirty-six guns and 111 men, commanded by Captain Coster ; the *Tienhoven*, twenty-eight guns and one hundred men, Captain Bauman ; and the *African*, galley, of fourteen guns and sixty men, Captain Rosenthal. The *Arens* and *African*, passing through the Straits of Le Maire, visited the island of Mocha and Juan Fernandez, where they rejoined the *Tienhoven*, which had come by the Straits of Magellan, and on Easter Day (which fell on 14th April) discovered an island to which they gave the name of Easter Island, supposed to be the same land first seen by Captain Edward Davis, and named after him in 1687. The journal says on this pretended discovery : 'We directed our course from Juan Fernandez towards Davis' land . . . but to the great astonishment of the admiral it was not seen. I think we either missed it, or there is no such land. We still went on towards the west as far as 12° more . . . and on the 6th April, the anniversary of the resurrection of our Lord, we came in sight of an

India Company. It held a charter for the West African trade as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and on the coasts of America from Newfoundland round to the Strait of Anian, which was supposed to communicate between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. The directors consisted of seventy-two persons, and at one time they possessed the greater part of the coast of Brazil, and Count Maurice of Nassau accepted their commission of governor-general of that province. In 1629, their admiral, Haines, captured the whole Spanish Plata fleet, but after renewing their charter in 1647 for a further period of twenty four years, their affairs got into difficulties, and in 1674 a new company was formed.

island, which we named Paaschen, or Oster Eilandt, about sixteen leagues in circuit.' Behrens places this 24° west of Juan Fernandez, and 271° east of the meridian of Teneriffe, and the Dort narrative places it in 268°.

Continuing the course taken by Schouten in 1615, they sailed, says Behrens, eight hundred leagues to the westward without sighting land, until, in 15° 45′ S. lat., they discovered 'a low sandy island, three leagues in circuit, with a lagoon in the middle, which some on board believed to be the Honden Island of Schouten.' To this discovery Commodore Roggewein gave the name of Carlshoff, or Charles' Court. About twelve German leagues distant were some islands which the commodore (or admiral as he is also called) named the Two Brothers, the Sister, and Pernicious Island, from the circumstance of the *African* galley being wrecked here. This happened on the night of the 20th May, and in the morning the *Arens* and *Tienhoven* found themselves encircled with rocks and islets, from which they were five days in clearing themselves. A run of eight leagues towards the west brought them to an island four leagues in circuit, which they called Aurora, and in the evening they sighted a larger island, about twelve leagues in circumference, to which they gave the name of Vesper; these are supposed to be the Sondergrondt and Vlieghen, discovered by Schouten and Le Maire, which were visited by Byron in 1765, and by Cook nine years later.

On the following day (on the 29th May, according to the Dort narrative) they discovered a group of six islands having an extent of thirty leagues, to which Roggewein gave the name of the Labyrinth, and which some suppose to be the Friendly Islands. A few days

later* they discovered an island which was named Recreation, where they were involved in hostilities with the natives and lost twenty men. Having been out now ten months without discovering the new continent, Roggewein called a council of officers, who decided to return homewards by Batavia and the East Indies. Steering north-west, on the third day, according to Behrens, but on the 14th June says the Dort narrative, they fell in with several islands which they called after Captain Bauman, which are supposed to be the Navigator Islands, seen by Bougainville in 1768; and, on the following day, passed two islands supposed to be those called by Schouten, Cocos and Verrader's (or Traitor's) Island, though Captain Burney considers they were the Horne Islands and Wallis' Island further south. Soon after they sighted other lands, to which they gave the names of Tienhoven and Groningen, though Behrens allows that they were 'perhaps a part of the Terra Australis.' Roggewein ran past these lands without touching, although his crew were dying, 'three, four, and sometimes five men a day,' from scurvy and dysentery, and on the 18th July sighted the coast of New Britain, and anchored off the islands of Moa and Arimoa, of Schouten, where he obtained some supplies, and then passing between the north-west part of New Guinea and Gillolo, anchored off Japara on the coast of Java, in September, 1722, and landed his sick people, his losses from disease being over seventy.

After a month's stay, at the invitation of the Dutch governor, he proceeded to Batavia, where his ships

* So according to Behrens, who places it in 16° lat., and describes it as twelve German leagues in circuit, but in the Dort relation, the date of arrival is given as the 1st June. Recreation, or Refreshment Island, is supposed to be the Ulietea in the Society Islands of Captain Cook.

and cargoes were seized and confiscated by the Dutch East India Company, as they had Schouten's ships during the memorable voyage made by that officer and Jacques le Maire in 1615; but after their arrival in Holland, the West India Company commenced a suit against their rivals, who were compelled by the States-General to furnish them with two new ships, pay for the full value of the cargoes, and the wages of the crews, besides costs and a heavy fine.* At length, after encountering many perils by sea and from the cruelty and rapacity of man, the survivors sailed into the Texel on the 11th July, 1723, nearly two years after quitting that port. In Southey's words:

> 'Long have they voyaged o'er the distant seas,
> And what a heart delight they feel at last,
> So many toils, so many dangers past,

* In Harris's history of Commodore Roggewein's voyage, translated from the narrative of one of the officers, is a detailed and valuable account of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies. Dr. Harris, D.D., F.R.S., author of 'Navigantium Atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca,' and editor of the first English encyclopædia, was also an accomplished scholar and possessed of great knowledge and untiring industry, but he displays in his work unbounded credulity, of which we will give two amusing instances. In transcribing Captain Whitburne's account of a mermaid he saw in the harbour of St. John's, he concludes by asking why this relation should not as effectually persuade all people that there are such creatures as the voyage itself should that there is such a place as Newfoundland. Again, in the narrative of Roggewein's voyage, he repeats the writer's account of a bird seen upon Table Bay, 'the body of which was as big, or bigger, than that of a horse, covered with grey and black plumage; his beak was long and crooked, and his talons like those of an eagle. It frequently carried off sheep and calves, and at last began to destroy cows, upon which orders were given to destroy it. It was accordingly shot, and the skin, being stuffed, was sent home as a curiosity to the East India Company.' He adds, 'the circumstantial narrative of the skin being sent home, is so strong a confirmation of the truth of what was reported, that I must confess I think the fact far from being incredible.' After this, the story of Sindbad's roc may be easily swallowed, and indeed, Dr. Harris, in another part, relates it.

To view the port descried, he only knows
Who in the stormy deep for many a day
Hath tost, aweary of the ocean way,
And watched all anxious every wind that blows.'

A voyage sufficiently noteworthy to merit a brief record, was that of the French naval officer, Lozier Bouvet,* in 1738-39, in search of lands in the South Atlantic Ocean, to the south of the Cape of Good Hope. M. Bouvet sailed from L'Orient on the 19th July, 1738, in the frigate *L'Aigle*, accompanied by the frigate *La Marie*, commanded by M. Hays. Touching at Santa Katalina, on the coast of Brazil, they sailed thence to the southward on the 13th November, and on the 1st January, 1739, in 54° 0′ S. lat. and 4° 30′ E. long. from the meridian of Greenwich,† by reckoning, land was seen eight or ten leagues distant, which, according to the journal of *L'Aigle*, was 'very high and covered with snow, and encircled to seven or eight leagues' distance with pieces of ice that seemed so many islands, and having an extent of four or five leagues from north to south.' M. Bouvet named this land, in remembrance of the day, 'Cape de la Circoncision,' and rewarded the pilot of *L'Aigle*, who first saw it, with a present of twenty dollars. An attempt was made to examine this land, but without success, owing to the stormy

* An account of this voyage may be found in M. de Brosses' 'Navigations aux Terres Australes,' which was taken from an abstract in Bouvet's journal, printed at Paris in 1740.

† By other reckonings, the longitude of Cape Circumcision was 11° 10′ E. of Greenwich, and 13° 6′. Subsequent attempts, but without success, were made to find this land of M. Bouvet, but in 1808, Cape Circumcision was made by two English whaling vessels, the *Swan*, James Lindsay, master, and *Otter*, Thomas Hopper, master. The land was seen on 6th October, in 54° 15′ S., and longitude, by reckoning, 4° 15′ E.

climate and foggy weather, and on the 10th January M. Bouvet abandoned the idea of forming a settlement on its inhospitable shores, and bore away in company to the north-east until the 5th February, when he removed into the *Marie*, which returned to Europe, and M. Hays proceeded to the East Indies in the *Aigle*.

CHAPTER VII.

Commodore Anson Circumnavigates the Globe—Captures the Town of Payta and the Acapulco Treasure Galleon—The Story of the Wreck of the *Wager*—M. de Bougainville forms a Settlement on the Falkland Islands—Commodore Byron's Voyage of Exploration round the World.

In the annals of maritime discovery, the eighteenth century is chiefly remarkable for the voyages of circumnavigation. In this department of naval enterprise, our seamen, since the days of Drake and Cavendish, had suffered themselves to be outstripped by the Dutch. But this was to be now changed, and in future England was to take the foremost place in this, as in all other phases of nautical ascendency. One of the most remarkable voyages of circumnavigation was that of Commodore George Anson, which is of such romantic interest, that, with the exception of the voyages of Captain Cook, no other accounts of voyages extant have enjoyed greater popularity.

It arose owing to the action of the Spanish Government, which claimed the right of searching all English merchant vessels, found near their ports, a pretension which was resented by the British Cabinet, and led to the issue of letters of marque, and finally to a declaration of war. It was not to be borne that such an insolent proposal as the right of search should be conceded to the despised Spaniard at the time when an English

poet expressed the national aspiration in the sentiment:

'All ocean is her own, and every land
To whom her ruling thunder ocean bears.'

In 1739, the British Government fitted out for service in the Pacific, a squadron, which was placed under the command of Commodore George Anson; but owing to the unpopularity of the Naval Service, due to the want of consideration displayed towards the seamen, who were regarded as their rightful prey by contractors and others, the ships remained unmanned until, in July, the difficulty was made up by draughts of seamen from other ships, and by the expedient, no less nefarious than ill-advised, of compelling 500 invalids from the Chelsea out-pensioners to embark in the squadron, on pain of forfeiting the pensions they had earned in the service of their country. Of the required number, 200 deserted at Portsmouth, and 259, the majority of whom were above sixty and some even seventy years of age, embarked; but the unequalled folly and barbarity of the measure is proved by the fact that not one of these old soldiers returned to his native land! 'A more moving scene,' writes the author of a narrative of the voyage, could not be conceived than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans, who were fully apprised of the disasters they would be exposed to, which was strongly-marked by the concern which appeared in their countenances, mixed with no small degree of indignation.'* To complete the comple-

* Two accounts of this voyage were published, one in 1745, by Pascoe Thomas, teacher of mathematics on board the *Centurion*, a plain matter-of-fact narrative; and a second by the Rev. Richard Walter, M.A., chaplain of the same ship, superior as a literary composition, and accompanied with charts and views of land.

ment of the ships to a total of 1980 men, the number of troops was made up to 470 by draughts of soldiers from regiments of the line; and in August the squadron, as follows, was ready for sea: *Centurion*, sixty guns, Commodore George Anson; *Gloucester*, fifty guns, Captain Richard Norris; *Severn*, fifty guns, Captain Hon. Edward Legg; *Pearl*, forty guns, Captain Matthew Mitchell; *Wager*, twenty-eight guns, Captain Dandy Kidd; *Tryal*, sloop, eight guns, Captain Hon. John Murray; and *Anna* and *Industry*, victuallers.

Owing to adverse winds the squadron, which was driven back three times, did not finally leave St. Helen's Roads until the 18th September, when they convoyed down Channel two fleets of merchantmen bound for the Mediterranean and North America, aggregating 150 sail. They parted with their convoys before the end of the month, and arrived on 25th October at Madeira, where Captain Norris, of the *Gloucester*, quitted the squadron on account of ill-health, and some exchanges took place among the commanders; David Cheap, first lieutenant of the *Centurion*, succeeding to the command of the *Tryal* sloop.

On the 3rd November the ships sailed from Madeira, and on the 19th the *Industry* was cleared of her provisions and returned to England. Sickness now broke out among the crews, and at Santa Katalina Island, where the squadron lay between the 18th December and 18th January, 1741, the *Centurion* alone buried twenty-eight men, and had ninety-six on the sick-list. Soon after proceeding to sea, Captain Kidd, now commanding the *Pearl*, died, and on 18th February, when the squadron anchored off Port San Julian, the Hon. Captain Murray was appointed to succeed him, Captain Cheap proceeding to the *Wager*, and Lieutenant

Charles Saunders to the command of the *Tryal*. As no fresh water was found in Port San Julian, the men were placed on an allowance of one quart and three pints on alternate days, and the squadron sailed on the 27th February and entered the Straits of Le Maire on the 7th March. But here the weather changed, and for many weeks they encountered adverse winds and heavy gales, accompanied with snow or sleet, which told fearfully on the health of the scurvy-stricken crews, the *Centurion* alone losing forty-three men in the month of April, and the other ships suffering in like proportion.

On the 10th of April the *Severn* and *Pearl* were separated from the squadron, and after vainly attempting to join the Commodore, returned to England ; and on the 23rd, during a heavy gale, the squadron, which was reduced to the *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, *Wager*, *Tryal*, and *Anna*, were dispersed, but it was anticipated that they would meet again, Commodore Anson having given as rendezvous in the Pacific, first the island of Nuestra Senora del Socorro, with directions to cruise there for ten days, and then Valdivia, near which they were to remain for a fortnight, and, failing a meeting, to proceed to Juan Fernandez.

The commodore arrived off the first rendezvous on the 8th May, but, owing to the lamentable state of his men, he only cruised off the island two days, and then sailed for Juan Fernandez, without proceeding to Valdivia. On the 10th June the *Centurion* cast anchor at Juan Fernandez, having lost 200 men since leaving Brazil, of the remainder, 130 being ill with fever or scurvy. Tents were speedily pitched on shore, and the sick landed by those able to work, the commodore and all the officers assisting in the humane task, but so far gone with disease were many of the patients, that

twelve died during the removal. On the day following their arrival at Juan Fernandez, the *Tryal* sloop came in, having lost 34 men out of her small complement; and, on the 21st, the *Gloucester* was seen off the island, apparently in distress. She was carried out of sight by the current, and did not make her appearance again until the 26th, when boats, with water and provisions, were sent to her assistance. Owing to the baffling winds and currents, the *Gloucester* did not gain the anchorage in Cumberland Bay until the 23rd July, or 146 days after quitting Port San Julian, which is said to be the longest unbroken continuance of a ship under sail on record. No less than two-thirds of the *Gloucester's* crew had died, and so terrible had been the ravages of the scurvy, that 'not a man remained in her who could be termed healthy.' Of the invalid out-pensioners embarked on board her, not one remained, and of 50 who sailed in the *Centurion*, there were only four survivors!

The waterfalls and streams of Juan Fernandez rendered the island a paradise in the eyes of the storm-tossed mariners, who gathered health as they wandered over its romantic glades and sunny cliffs, while the plentiful supply of fresh provisions procurable in the shape of goats, fish, and vegetables, soon restored to health those not too far gone in disease.

> 'The sea-spread net, the lightly-launch'd canoe,
> Which stemm'd the studded Archipelago,
> O'er whose blue bosom rose the starry isle;
> The healthy slumber, earn'd by sportive toil;
> The palm, the loftiest dryad of the woods,
> Within whose bosom infant Bacchus broods,
> While eagles scarce build higher than the crest
> Which shadows o'er the vineyard in her breast.'

Amid such scenes and invigorated by these long-unknown luxuries, the time quickly passed, while the

crew gathered strength and awaited the arrival of the victualler *Anna*. On the 16th August she anchored off the island, having, since her separation from the commodore on the 23rd April, found a secure harbour on the west coast in about 45° 30′ S. lat., where was a plentiful supply of fresh water, and, after a stay of a month, sailed for Juan Fernandez.

The stores were taken out of the *Anna* and distributed, when she was broken up. On the 9th September a strange sail was sighted, when the *Centurion* gave chase and captured her. From this ship, which was bound from Callao to Valparaiso with a cargo of sugar, cloth and tobacco, and twenty-three packages of dollars, each weighing about two cwt., Commodore Anson learned that a Spanish squadron of seven ships, under Admiral Pizarro, fitted out to protect their settlements in the South Sea—which he had sighted off Madeira, and which lay at Rio de la Plata while he was at Santa Katalina—had been unable to enter the South Sea, and that two of the largest ships had been lost, and the remainder had put back to Brazil. On receipt of this news the commodore despatched the *Tryal* to cruise off Valparaiso, following, on the 19th, with the *Centurion*, accompanied by the prize *Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, having on board the guns of the *Anna* and a crew commanded by Lieutenant Saumarez. The *Gloucester*, not being ready for sea, was ordered, when able, to join him off Payta.

The *Tryal* having captured a ship, her officers and crew with twenty guns were turned over to her, and she was commissioned under the name of the *Tryal's Prize*. During October they cruised along the coast of Chili, and in November off that of Peru. On the 5th of that month they captured a ship laden with a variety of goods, bound from Guayaquil to Panama, of which Mr.

Peter Dennis, third lieutenant of the *Centurion*, was placed in command; and on the 12th, near the Lobos Islands, a second, the *Nuestra Senora del Carmen*, bound from Panama to Callao, with a cargo valued at 400,000 dollars. Learning from this prize that merchandise to a large amount was stored at Payta, Commodore Anson resolved to surprise the town, and at ten o'clock the same night, being within five leagues of the land, despatched three boats, with fifty-eight men, under the orders of Lieutenants Brett, Dennis, and Hughes, and midshipman (afterwards Admiral Lord) Keppel. The expedition was well planned and boldly executed, and met with complete success.

The boats entered the Bay of Payta at daylight, and landed before the inhabitants had time to collect their goods or make any effort at defence. The fort, which had neither ditch nor outwork, was abandoned, the governor narrowly escaping capture with his bride, who, it is said, was borne off in her shift by two Spanish soldiers, and fifty years after the event, related to the captain of a British whaler, whom she invited to her house, that Commodore Anson behaved with moderation towards his prisoners. The English ships arrived off the town during the morning, and two days were occupied in embarking plunder consisting of coin and plate, valued at £32,000, besides goods and an abundance of provisions and wines, and much rich clothing for both sexes, which the sailors for convenience' sake put on, over, or in lieu of, their garments, presenting a ludicrous appearance. As the Spaniards refused to ransom the town, it was fired, together with five vessels found in the port, a sixth being retained as tender. Having wrought all this ruin, estimated at 1,500,000 dollars, in what was a rich and thriving community,

Commodore Anson released eighty-eight prisoners, and sailed from Payta on the 15th; and, two days later, fell in with the *Gloucester*, now commanded by Captain Mitchell, who had captured two prizes having on board coin and plate valued at £18,000.

Commodore Anson now sailed with the *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and three prizes, for New Spain, with the intention of intercepting the galleon despatched annually from the Philippines with a rich freight, and touching at the island of Quibo for water and provisions, arrived on the 28th January, 1742, off Acapulco, where they learned from a fishing canoe that the galleon had reached the port in January, but that the 14th March was fixed for her return to Manilla. The ships took up a position off the port, with the boats midway between them and the land; but by some accident, one of the boats was seen by the Spaniards, and her mission suspected, so that the departure of the galleon was countermanded, and towards the end of March the commodore sailed to Chequetan, about eighty miles to the west of Acapulco, and having watered his ships, arrived on the 2nd May at Acapulco, where he picked up a boat he had left to cruise off the port. Having come to the resolution to leave the American coast, Commodore Anson cleared and destroyed his prizes, and placing all his prisoners, Spanish as well as Indian, in two launches, with sufficient provisions to carry them to Panama, on the 5th May he sailed with the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* for China.

The winds were adverse, and scurvy, due to the bad quality of the water and the decayed condition of the provisions, again broke out, making fearful ravages among the crews. During the voyage the *Gloucester* sailed so badly that she was frequently taken in tow by

the *Centurion*, and at length became in such a leaky state, having six feet of water in her hold, that on the 15th August she was abandoned and set on fire, the crew, together with the greater portion of her stores, being removed to the *Centurion*, though a want of stowage-space compelled them to leave behind prize goods to the value of £12,000 and forty casks of brandy. The Ladrone Islands were sighted on the 22nd August, but it was not until the 27th that the *Centurion* anchored in the roadstead of the island of Tinian, now uninhabited, but said to have formerly contained 30,000 people, the ruins of whose buildings were visible in all parts. The sick, to the number of 128, were landed, and lodged in a thatched building used as a storehouse by those visiting the island for the purpose of curing beef for the use of Spanish ships. The island was stocked with herds of cattle and hogs, and there were plentiful supplies of vegetables, fruits and cocoa-nuts, and two lakes of fresh water well stocked with wild-fowl, so that nothing was wanting to make of the island a haven of rest to the disease-stricken crew of the *Centurion*.

The men had been dying during the latter part of the passage at the rate of five or six daily, and so enfeebled were the survivors that twenty-one succumbed within forty-eight hours of the ship's arrival, which was attributed to the agitation of mind caused by the near prospect of relief. With the exception of ten others who were past hope of recovery, the remainder of the sick rallied quickly under the influence of the change of diet and relief from the malarious air of the confined 'tween decks of the ship.

On the 21st September, during the absence on shore of the commodore, with officers and men to the number of 112, including the sick, the *Centurion* carried away

her cables and was driven out to sea, but was brought back on the 11th of October. During her absence, Commodore Anson, anticipating that the ship, owing to her under-manned state, might be unable to fetch the island, had commenced to make preparations for leaving by sawing in two, and lengthening, a small vessel of fifteen tons he had found lying in the roads.

This officer was one of the sort that our navy has been so prolific in producing. Possessed of boundless resource, no difficulties daunted him, and though the situation was one calculated to plunge any but the stoutest-hearted into despair, he only thought of doing the best he could to rescue the ship's company from a seemingly hopeless position. Truly, like one of Byron's heroes,

> 'Placed in the Arab's clime, he would have been
> As bold a rover as the sands have seen,
> And braved their thirst with as enduring lip
> As Ishmael, wafted in his desert ship;
> Fix'd upon Chili's shore, a proud cacique;
> On Hella's mountains, a rebellious Greek;
> Born in a tent, perhaps a Tamerlane;
> Bred to a throne, perhaps unfit to reign.
> For the same soul that rends its path to sway,
> If rear'd to such, can find no further prey
> Beyond itself.'

The Commodore, having effected such repairs as the limited means at his disposal permitted, sailed from Tinian on the 21st October, on the 5th November made the coast of China, and on the 11th anchored in the harbour of Macao. A difficulty arose as to the supply of provisions with the 'Hoppo,' or Chinese officer of customs, at Macao, and Commodore Anson, finding he could get no redress, wrote a letter to the Viceroy of Canton, who sent down to Macao, in eighteen gaily decorated galleys, a mission consisting of three mandarins,

who were received and entertained by the commodore with all the state attainable, which resulted in the receipt of an order from the viceroy directing the supply and repair of the *Centurion*.

Captains Mitchell and Saunders, of the *Gloucester* and *Tryal*, and other officers, obtained leave to return to England in December, in the East India Company's ships trading with China, and it was not until the 19th April, 1743, that the *Centurion* proceeded to sea, and then the commodore made known his intentions of directing his course, not for England, but to the Philippine Islands in search of the ship from Acapulco. So great was the confidence reposed in him by the crew that, says Thomas, 'the commodore's speech was received by the people with great joy, for we knew him to be a person of consummate prudence, and that he would not rashly undertake a wild-goose chase.' Of the 900 men forming the original crews of the four ships, *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, *Tryal*, and *Anna*, only 227 remained at this time.

On the 20th May, they arrived off their cruising ground, the north-east cape of the island of Samar, of the Philippines, called Cape Espiritu Santo, but it was not until that day month that Mr. Midshipman Charles Proby, being on the look-out, sighted a sail to windward, which proved to be the second and larger of the two galleons despatched this year from Acapulco, in consequence of none being sent the previous year owing to the presence of the *Centurion*. The galleon, which mounted thirty-six guns, and had on board 550 men including passengers, came down under a press of sail, and seeing that an action was unavoidable, prepared to fight. The battle commenced half an hour after noon, and lasted one hour and twenty minutes, when she struck her

colours, having lost sixty-seven killed and eighty-seven wounded, the *Centurion* only losing two killed and seventeen wounded.

The prize proved to be the *Nuestra Senora de Cabadonga*, commanded by the general of galleons, Don Jeronimo de Montero, who was himself wounded, and her cargo consisted of 1,313,843 pieces-of-eight, 35,682 oz. of silver, and a large quantity of merchandise. The commodore placed Lieutenant Philip Saumarez in command of the prize, promoting other officers, among them Mr. Midshipman Augustus Keppel being made lieutenant, and steering for China on the 10th July, anchored at Macao, where the prisoners were released.

Commodore Anson then proceeded up the river, and wrote two letters to the Viceroy of Canton, requesting permission to visit him, but he was put off with promises, until, happening to be at Canton on the 26th November, with some of his officers and his barge's crew, he rendered great assistance in subduing a fire which burnt down several streets, and his efforts being witnessed by the viceroy, the commodore received a message from him, appointing the 30th of the month for an audience. Accompanied by Captain Saumarez and Lieutenant Keppel, and a small retinue, he was received with great distinction by his Excellency, a body of 10,000 men, says Thomas, being drawn up before the palace.

On the 10th December, the *Centurion* sailed from the Canton river, and having sold his prize at Macao for 6000 dollars, the commodore steered for the Cape of Good Hope. The *Centurion* eluded a French fleet which was then cruising in the Channel, and on the 15th June, 1744, anchored at Spithead, after an absence of three years and nine months, she being the only one of

a squadron of six ships of war and two victuallers to return, the *Severn* and *Pearl* having put back without entering the South Sea.

One of these six ships, the *Wager* (so called after Admiral Sir Charles Wager), commanded by Captain David Cheap, has not been accounted for, and we will now give a brief narrative of her doings,* from the 23rd April, 1741, when in 58° S. lat. and about 10° west of Cape Horn, she was separated from the rest of the squadron. Captain Cheap directed his course for Socorro, the first rendezvous, as he knew that Commodore Anson intended to attack Valdivia, and his ship carried the greater portion of the guns and military stores.

Very heavy weather was experienced, and the ship was not very manageable owing to her having carried away her mizen-mast and foreyard, but all might have gone well had not a mistake been made as to the position of the land. On the morning of the 5th May, the ship, being deeply embayed in the Gulf de Penas, struck on a rock, and a hole was knocked in her bottom by the fluke of a spare anchor of the *Centurion* she was carrying in her hold, upon which, Captain Cheap, who had received a severe injury by being thrown down the after-ladder, ran her ashore, and she took the ground about a musket-shot from the land, which is supposed to be the peninsula De Tres Montes in the Gulf de Penas, between 47° and 48° of latitude, according to Mr. Byron. The masts and anchors were cut away to ease the ship, which beat violently on the rocks, and as she appeared

* See 'Narrative of the Loss of the *Wager*,' by John Bulkeley and John Cummins, gunner and carpenter of the *Wager*, 1743. Other narratives were published by Alexander Campbell, midshipman, and the Hon. John Byron, midshipman, afterwards a famous navigator, and grandfather of the great poet.

as if about to break up, the crew, with the exception of the boatswain and some men who broke open the spirit stores and refused to quit the ship, managed to get to land, the captain being the last to leave.

The prospect was dismal as the shipwrecked mariners watched the fierce seas breaking up the ship which had been their floating home, and would never carry them back to England. In Shelley's graphic words :

> 'Waves on waves tumultuous heap
> Confusion to the clouds, and fiercely driven
> Heaven's lightnings scorch the uprooted ocean-fords,
> Whilst, to the eye of shipwrecked mariner,
> Lone sitting on the bare and shuddering rock,
> All seems unlinked contingency and chance.'

Shelter was afforded to a few men by some Indian huts, but the greater portion of the ship's company passed the night under the trees, and in such a sickly state were they, that, of 130 officers and men, but thirteen were capable of doing duty. The only food they had the first day was some soup, composed of a seagull cut up and cooked with wild celery and biscuit-dust, and as little beyond wild-fowl and celery could be procured on this inhospitable shore, Captain Cheap, who was an officer of resource and determination, resolved to proceed northward in the boats, in search of Commodore Anson, until they captured some vessel in which they could proceed to Juan Fernandez.

Meantime some provisions and the long-boat were brought away from the wreck, and also the mutinous seamen, who had actually fired round-shot from the ship at the captain's tent to induce him to bring them off. The boatswain, who feared his commander's displeasure, was the last to leave the ship, and Bulkeley says, 'The captain called him rogue and villain, and felled him to the ground with his cane. When he got up, the captain

told him he deserved to be shot, and said no more to him.' The men soon showed great want of discipline, owing to the circumstance that, by naval usage, on the wreck of the *Wager*, their pay and maintenance ceased, and with it, as they believed, their liability to naval law. On the 3rd June, ten men absconded, and, a week later, Mr. Cozens, midshipman, who had, when intoxicated, behaved with insolence to the captain, and quarrelled with the purser and surgeon, was shot by Captain Cheap under a wrong impression, though his conduct had been so riotous and insubordinate that his fate was not unmerited. Up to this date, according to Bulkeley, forty-five men had died since the *Wager* went ashore.

The shipwrecked crew were visited by two parties of Indians, who came in canoes, bringing with them a few sheep; these natives constructed four huts, which they covered with bark and seal-skins, and on the 9th July, took their departure. A certain amount of stores was recovered from the wreck, and the crew were placed on a daily allowance of a quarter of a pound of flour and a pint of wine, and, occasionally, when the weather was too rough to admit of fishing, a small allowance of salt beef was issued. Since the recovery of the long-boat, Captain Cheap had been engaged in lengthening her eleven feet ten inches, and rigging her as a schooner; and on the 4th August, when she was nearly ready for sea, he was astonished by the presentation of a written demand, signed by Thomas Clark, the master; Bulkeley, the gunner; Cummins, the carpenter; King, the boatswain, and forty-six others, including three out of the four officers of marines, to the effect that they 'thought it the best, surest, and most safe way for the preservation of the people on the spot, to proceed through the

Straits of Magellan for England.' In vain the captain warned them of the danger of attempting to navigate those stormy seas in a small vessel, and urged on them the almost certainty of making prizes to the northward, or the ease with which they could put into Juan Fernandez. Seeing their determination not to be guided by reason or argument, Captain Cheap put them off from day to day, and at length, flatly refused to sign the paper, and return with them to England. Upon this they seized him as he lay in his tent, and bound his hands behind him.

'Gentlemen,' said their prisoner, 'you have taken me napping, and you are a parcel of brave fellows.'

The mutineers, who numbered eighty-one out of the total crew of ninety-two, gave their captain the option of remaining on the island or accompanying them, and, as he chose the former alternative, on the 12th October they launched the schooner, and embarking in her and the barge and cutter, on the 15th sailed to the southward, leaving the yawl with the captain, with whom Lieutenant Hamilton, of the marines, Mr. Elliot, the surgeon, and seven of the crew, who had deserted and been living in the woods, cast in their lot. The mutineers had not gone far when the barge was sent back for some canvas, but the crew, which consisted of Messrs. Byron and Campbell, midshipmen, and eight petty officers and men, decided to remain with the captain.

During the month of November the weather was too tempestuous for Captain Cheap to venture to sea with the barge and yawl, but he managed, on the 3rd December, to recover three casks of beef from the wreck. At length, the people became so impatient to try their fortune that, on the 15th December, he con-

sented to make an attempt, but they had only been two hours at sea when it began to blow so hard that they were compelled to throw overboard most of their provisions, and run for shelter into an inlet where they passed a miserable night. Thus they proceeded along the coast in an open boat, struggling against wretched weather and adverse winds, with scarcely sufficient food to sustain life. It would be a thankless task to detail their sufferings.

> 'The ills that lessen'd still their little store,
> And starved even hunger till he wrung no more;
> The varying frowns and favours of the deep,
> That now almost engulfs, then leaves to creep
> With crazy oar and shatter'd strength along
> The tide that yields reluctant to the strong.'

On the 5th May they put into a cove they named Redwood, and, on the following day, landed at an island to which they gave the name of Montrose. They were detained for some days in a bay, by stress of weather, and, to add to their distresses, the yawl, when riding at anchor, was upset and shattered by a sea, one man being drowned. As the wind blew strong and steadily from the north, and the barge was incapable of carrying all hands, it was decided that four of the most helpless should be left behind, with some arms, ammunition, a frying-pan, and some necessaries. 'As the barge departed,' says Campbell, 'these poor fellows, standing on the beach, gave us a farewell salute with three cheers, and cried "God save the king." Our hearts melted with compassion, but there was no helping their misfortune.'

The crew of the barge all that day made strenuous but unavailing efforts to double a neighbouring headland, and, as they drove into the breakers, at one time

resigned themselves to despair, and ceased rowing. 'At last,' says Byron, 'Captain Cheap told them that they must either perish immediately, or pull stoutly to get off the shore, but they might do as they pleased.' The seamen succeeded in clearing the surf, and put back to the spot (which they had called Marine Bay) where they had left their four shipmates; but they had disappeared, and nothing more was ever heard of them. They were detained here all January by contrary winds, and, early in February, returned to Cheap's Bay, whence they had started.

Soon after their arrival, some Indians came in two canoes, and Captain Cheap, whose only anxiety was now to return to Europe, agreed to make over to them the barge, with its equipment, on condition of their conducting them to the Spanish settlement of Castro in the island of Chiloe. On the 6th March, accordingly, the shipwrecked mariners, reduced by deaths, and the desertion of one of their number (who had committed a theft) to thirteen men, set out in their barge accompanied by the canoe. On the third day they reached the hut of their Indian pilot, and attempted to proceed up a river, but exhausted by the stream and want of food, were obliged to relinquish the attempt, in making which, one of the poor fellows died from fatigue. On the following day all the seamen, who now numbered only six, deserted with the barge, and Captain Cheap, with whom were Lieutenant Hamilton of the marines, Dr. Elliot and Midshipmen Byron and Campbell, found himself with no means of proceeding to Chiloe or of rewarding the pilot, who, nevertheless, consented to escort him. On the arrival of more Indian canoes, towards the end of March they quitted this place, where they had eked out a scanty subsistence on shell-fish and

tangle (a sort of seaweed), but soon their numbers were still further reduced by the death of the surgeon, who had long been ill. Proceeding by a route which has never been accurately traced, they carried the canoes overland in places, crossed a lagoon, and descended a river to the sea; and at length, after many halts, arrived at the island of Chiloe in the middle of June. Here they were hospitably received by the natives, and were taken to the Spanish governor, who also treated them with kindness. During their stay here as prisoners, the barge arrived with two of the deserters.

In January, 1743, Captain Cheap and his three officers were sent to Valparaiso, where they remained in captivity nearly two years, during which they received good treatment. In December, 1744, Captain Cheap, with Messrs. Hamilton and Byron, left Valparaiso in the ship *Le Lys*,* bound for France, but were compelled to return, as she sprung a leak. On the 1st March, 1745, she again put to sea, and, rounding Cape Horn, pro-

* This ship, with three others, the *Deliverance, Marquise d'Antin,* and *Louis Erasme,* were bound for France, the *Lys* having on board Don Jorge Juan, and the *Deliverance* Don Antonio de Ulloa, two officers of the Spanish Navy, who were associated with members of the French Academy to measure a degree of the meridian in Peru and make other scientific observations. The *Lys* returned to Valparaiso owing to her leaky state, but the other ships, having on board treasure to the amount of five million dollars, proceeded round Cape Horn, and, after touching at the island of Fernando Noronha on the 21st May, encountered two large English privateers in 43° 57′ N. lat. After a gallant resistance, during which the captains of the *Marquis d'Antin* and the *Louis Erasme* were killed, those ships were captured, but the *Deliverance,* having on board two million dollars, managed to escape. She made her way to Cape Breton Island, not knowing that the British had captured it, and on the 13th August sailed into the harbour. Don Antonio de Ulloa was carried prisoner to England, where he was treated with much consideration, and after his release published an account of his voyage, with a general description of Peru and Chili.

ceeded to the West Indies and arrived at Brest on the 1st November. Here they remained prisoners of war, until an order for their release was obtained from Spain, and, in April, 1746, they landed in England. Their companion, Mr. Alexander Campbell, it is said, refused to accompany them from Valparaiso, as he was enamoured of a Spanish girl, whom he married. However, not long after, he went by land to Buenos Ayres, and embarked for Spain on board the *Asia*, of sixty-four guns, flagship of Admiral Don Josef Pizarro. Campbell relates that during the voyage, twelve native Brazilians, on passage to Europe to serve in the galleys, rose on the crew, of whom they killed eleven and wounded thirty-eight. For a time they held possession of the ship, but were soon overpowered and slain or jumped overboard. From Ferrol Campbell proceeded to Madrid, and thence to London, where he arrived in May, 1746, a month after his captain; but though he applied for employment at the Admiralty, it was refused, hard measure, as he complains, after all his 'services and sufferings.'

We will now briefly detail the adventures of the main body of the *Wager's* crew, numbering seventy-three men, under Bulkeley, the gunner, and Captain Pemberton of the marines, who sailed from Cheap's Bay in the schooner and cutter on the 26th October. They kept close to the shore, landing during the night, but on the 6th November lost the cutter, which broke adrift with one man in her in the middle of the night. It now became impossible to convey seventy-two persons in such a small craft as a ship's long-boat lengthened some eleven feet, and accordingly it was decided that eleven should be landed. Bulkeley, who all through his proceedings, as detailed in his narrative, displays great cunning in clearing himself from future blame, states that

these eleven unfortunate men 'signed a certificate to inform the Lords of the Admiralty that they were not compelled to stay, but that of their own choice they did it for the preservation of themselves and us.'

On the 8th November the *Speedwell*, as the schooner was named, left them to their fate, and entering the Straits of Magellan on the 10th, passed out into the South Atlantic Ocean on the 11th December, having lost seven men from want during the passage. On the 20th the *Speedwell* anchored in Port Desire,* where the crew found fresh water and abundance of seals, but from want of salt were unable to cure any flesh. Bulkeley says: 'The people grew very turbulent, and insisted that the marine officers and such people as could not assist in working the boat should have but half the allowance of the rest; accordingly they pitched upon twenty to be served at half allowance.' They sailed on the 26th, and two days later shared the last of the flour, having no other provisions than putrid seal flesh. On the 6th January, 1742, Mr. Harvey, the purser, died; and as he is described as presenting the appearance of a skeleton, it is probable that he was one of the twenty placed on half allowance; Bulkeley, indeed, indulges in

* In 1745 the Spanish Government made an attempt to Christianise the natives of Patagonia, and sent on that errand a frigate, the *St. Antonio*, having on board a Jesuit priest, Josef de Quiroga, who had formerly been a seaman, and an Englishman, Thomas Falkner, who afterwards published 'A Description of Patagonia.' On the 6th January, 1746, the frigate arrived atPort Desire, and proceeding as far south as the Rio de Gallegos, on the 9th February anchored in Port San Julian. Parties were landed from the ship and marched a long distance into the country without seeing a human being, and on the 28th February a council was held, when it was unanimously resolved that there being no one to convert and no means of subsistence, the undertaking should be abandoned. The *St. Antonio*, accordingly, returned to France *re infecta*.

a joke, remarking that he was the first purser in his Majesty's service who ever died of hunger. On the 10th January the sergeant of marines also succumbed to starvation.

The condition of the survivors was most pitiable, as tortured by hunger and thirst, they were compelled, when the wind was contrary, to tug, with lessened energies, continuously at the oar. As Byron says of a crew which endured similar sufferings:

> 'The incessant fever of that arid thirst
> Which welcomes, as a well, the clouds that burst
> Above their naked bones, and feels delight
> In the cold drenching of the stormy night,
> And from the outspread canvas gladly wrings
> A drop to moisten life's all-gasping springs;
> The savage foe escaped, to seek again
> More hospitable shelter from the main.'

On the 12th January, when near the shore in 37° 25′ S. lat., as they had no boat, 'and to go from here without meat or drink was certain death,' fourteen of the crew swam ashore from the schooner to procure supplies, of whom one was drowned in the surf. They shot a horse and a wild dog, and caught four armadilloes, and found fresh water, which, together with the carcass of the horse and some seal flesh, was conveyed on board the schooner by lines on the following day. Here again an act of treachery was committed. No sooner were these necessaries on board than, says Bulkeley: 'A sea breeze came in and blowed so hard, that we were obliged to weigh, leaving on shore eight of the people.' On the following day the schooner anchored a league from the shore, and having put some necessaries and four muskets for the use of their companions in a cask, they committed it to the waves, and then, on the 15th January, continued their course to the northward. Bulkeley, fearful that his

conduct might expose him to prosecution on his return to England, again justified himself by the preparation of a memorial, which was signed by eight officers, to the effect that 'it being every man's opinion that we must put to sea or perish, we got up a scuttled cask, and put into it all manner of necessaries, and a letter to acquaint them of our danger: which cask we saw them receive, as also the letter that was in it; they then fell on their knees and made signals wishing us well, at which we got under sail and left our brethren.'

Among the eight unhappy men thus basely deserted, was Mr. Isaac Morris, midshipman, who published a narrative of his adventures. After an unsuccessful attempt to make their way to Buenos Ayres, they lived upwards of a year near the place where they had been landed, until four of the party were killed by the Indians and the remainder were conducted to Buenos Ayres, where Morris and two men were sold to the Spanish governor for fifteen dollars each, and returned to Europe in the Spanish ship-of-war *Asia*, in company with Campbell. The other man of the party, being of a very dark complexion, though a Londoner, was kept by the Indians, who regarded him as one of themselves.

On the 20th January the *Speedwell*, having on board thirty men, entered the river Plata, and laying in some provisions, sailed for the Portuguese settlement of Rio Grande, where they arrived on the 28th. Bulkeley and some others sailed in a Portuguese ship to Lisbon, and thence proceeded in the British man-of-war *Stirling Castle* to Spithead, where they arrived on the 1st January, 1743. The conduct of this man and his confederates was not submitted to a judicial inquiry, but in consequence of the circumstances attending the wreck of the *Wager*, an Admiralty order was issued that, in future,

any person on the books of a ship-of-war was entitled to pay and amenable to discipline until he was regularly discharged. Altogether it may be said of this expedition of Commodore Anson, with the remarkable career of the *Centurion* and the tragic circumstances attending the wreck of the *Wager*, that it forms one of the most romantic episodes of nautical history.

In 1763, on the termination of the Seven Years' War, M. de Bougainville, a colonel in the French army, induced his government to sanction a project for the settlement of the Falkland Islands, or as they were called by the French, from the number of their ships frequenting them from St. Malo, the Malouines. It will be remembered, from a previous chapter in this narrative, that these islands were first discovered by Captain Davis in 1572, were seen by Sir Richard Hawkins two years later, and received the name of Hawkins' Maiden Land, and were visited by Captain Cowley who called them Pepys' Land, and by Sebald de Wert, after whom they were named the Sebaldine group; in 1580 Captain Strong sailed through the strait dividing the two islands and called it Falkland, by which name the islands are now known.

M. de Bougainville constructed at St. Malo, at his own expense, two vessels, named the *Aigle*, twenty-four guns and 100 men, commanded by Le Sieur Duclos Guyot, who had sailed in the *Leon*, and the sloop *Sphinx*, of eight guns and forty men, commanded by M. Chenart de la Gyraudais.

On the 23rd September the vessels, having on board some Acadian families and others as settlers for the proposed colony,* sailed from St. Malo, and touching at

* An account of this voyage of circumnavigation was written by Dom Pernety, who sailed with M. de Bougainville in the capacity of naturalist.

Santa Katalina and Rio de la Plata, which they left on the 16th January, 1764, sighted the Falkland Islands on the 31st. A settlement was formed in a sound six leagues deep, on the eastern side, in 51° 40′ S. lat., to which they gave the name of Acarron Bay, and here a fort was constructed, which they called St. Louis; there was an abundance of birds and seals here, but the chief want was wood, of which none could be found. The *Sphinx* was despatched to the West Indies on the 5th April, and on the 8th, M. de Bougainville returned to St. Malo, where he arrived on the 26th June, 1764. In the following October, he again sailed in the *Aigle*, with provisions and fifty-three more colonists, whom he landed on his arrival at Acarron Bay, on the 5th January, 1765, when he found all the colonists in good health. M. de Bougainville proceeded to the Straits of Magellan to procure some wood for the settlers, and met some English ships commanded by a seaman even more famous than himself from his discoveries and as having circumnavigated the globe.

Commodore Byron, who had been midshipman of the *Wager*, was sent by the British Government to take formal possession of the Falkland Islands, and in January, 1765, made a settlement at a port in the north-western part, to which he gave the name Port Egmont, whence he proceeded on his memorable voyage. Having supplied the colonists with wood, M. de Bougainville, on the 27th April, sailed for France, where he arrived on the 13th August. In 1766, M. Duclos was again sent to the Straits to procure wood for the settlers at St. Louis, but in the same year the French, finding that their anticipations of profits arising from ships calling at Acarron Bay, on their way to the Pacific, were not likely to be realised, resigned the settlement to the

Spanish Government, who gave it the name of Bahia de la Soledad, or Bay of Solitude.

In the same year, an English colony settled at Port Egmont; but, strange to say, it was not until three years later that the Spaniards and English became mutually aware, by an accidental meeting of two small vessels sailing from Port Egmont and Bahia de la Soledad, that they were rival settlers in these islands. In June, 1770, the Spanish Government of Buenos Ayres sent a force and dispossessed the English of their fort, an aggressive act which nearly resulted in war; but the matter was arranged by the Court of Madrid withdrawing the garrison from Port Egmont, though the English abandoned the settlement a few months later as useless. Eventually, however, the Spanish resigned all claim to these islands, which, as having been first discovered by Englishmen, Davis and Hawkins, properly became appanages of the British crown.

The British Government having formed the design of prosecuting discoveries in the South Seas, selected for the command Commodore Byron, who had sailed as midshipman in the *Wager* under Captain Cheap, and placed at his disposal two ships, the *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, the latter commanded by Captain Mouat. On the 3rd July, 1764, Commodore Byron sailed from Plymouth, and, touching at Funchal in Madeira, and Porto Praya in the Canaries, anchored on the 13th September at Rio Janeiro, which he quitted on the 16th of the following month. During a violent gale he was compelled to throw overboard some of the guns, but succeeded in reaching Port Desire on the 21st November. At this harbour, discovered by Sir Thomas Cavendish in his famous voyage in 1586, and called after his ship,

(the Desire, of twenty tons,) they remained until the 5th December; but the supply of fresh water was so limited, that they continued their course to the southward, and having obtained a sufficiency of wood and water, sailed on the 6th January, 1765, for the Falkland Islands.

On the 12th they sighted land, and on the 15th entered a harbour, described as 'the finest in the world, and capacious enough to contain the whole navy of England,'* to which the commodore gave the name of Port Egmont, in honour of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and also took possession of the whole group, to which he gave the name of Falkland Islands, in the name of his sovereign. In this place they found a plentiful supply of fresh water, with geese, ducks, and other edible birds. 'The geese,' says a contemporary writer, 'were knocked down with stones, so that it was no unusual thing for a boat to bring off sixty or seventy of those birds without the necessity of shooting a single one. Seals and penguins abound here, and sea-lions of a prodigious size.'

The ships sailed from the harbour, the sound adjacent to which has received the name of Byron, on the 27th January, and the same day saw a remarkable headland which Commodore Byron named Cape Tamar, and a second, eight leagues distant, which he called Cape Dolphin; he also named the intervening space Carlisle Sound, though it has since been proved to be the

* See 'An Historical Account of all the Voyages Round the World performed by English Navigators,' four vols., 1773. Also Hawkesworth's more detailed work dealing with the voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook, in vol. i. of which is an excellent chart of the Falkland Islands, of the identity of which with the Pepys' Land of Cowley and the islands seen by Sebald de Wert, and called after him, Commodore Byron has a lengthy disquisition.

northern entrance of the strait between the two principal islands. On the following day the commodore passed a deep sound at the eastern extremity of the island, to which he gave the name of Berkeley Sound, and then, quitting the islands, sailed to the westward. On the 6th February the ships arrived at Port Desire, visited by Van Noort and, later, by Le Maire and Schouten, where they met the storeship *Florida*, from England.

As the commodore decided to unload her in the Straits of Magellan, the three ships sailed on the 13th and 14th February for Port Famine. A few days after they saw a strange sail, whose motions in following the English ships closely, anchoring when they anchored, and sailing when they got under weigh, excited apprehension of her intentions. The stranger at last hoisted French colours, when Commodore Byron came to the conclusion that she was a ship from the French settlement in the Falkland Islands, and, on his return to England, he learned that this was the fact. The strange ship was the *Aigle*, commanded by M. de Bougainville, who had proceeded to the Straits of Magellan to procure wood for his countrymen.

On the 20th February they reached Port Famine, and having taken as much provisions out of the storeship as they required, the *Florida* sailed on her return to England. On the 25th they passed the *Aigle* in the Straits, and continued threading the passage, meeting with very severe weather and contrary winds, so that they sometimes lost the ground they had made the day before. On the 17th March they were glad to anchor in a small bay opposite Cape Quod, called in the charts Swallow Bay, in which they had brought up two days before, and on the 23rd they had sight of the South Sea, 'which rolled a prodigious swell on them.'

At length, after surmounting many dangers, on the 9th April, the ships passed some rocks at the western entrance of the Straits called in Narborough's Voyage 'the Judges,' and entered the South Sea, favoured with a steady gale from the south-west, which carried them nine miles an hour. On the 28th April they anchored off the island of Masafuero, near Juan Fernandez, where they took in some water, and Commodore Byron made some promotions, placing Captain Mouat in command of the *Dolphin* under him, and promoting Mr. Cumming, his first lieutenant, captain of the *Tamar*, and advancing some other officers. On the 30th April they sailed to the northward and westward, and, on the 7th June, sighted two islands,* where the natives manifested great hostility to the boats' crews sent to search for a landing-place; as none could be found, the commodore named them the Islands of Disappointment. On the following day he sighted a low-lying island, having, like the others, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and, four leagues distant, a second. When some boats were sent to sound round the islands for a suitable anchorage, the natives showed great anger and even pursued them in two double canoes, thirty-two feet in length and each having about thirty armed men. At length the seamen fired upon the natives, of whom they killed two or three, and, chasing the canoes, captured them and brought them away as trophies. They are described as consisting of 'planks sewed together, with a strip of tortoise-shell fixed over each seam; they had sharp bottoms and were very narrow, and two of them were fastened alongside each other by two timbers, which left a space of full six feet between the canoes; a sail,

* The commodore places the middle of these islands in 14° 10′ S. lat. and 144° 52′ W. long.

made of neat matting, passed from one vessel to the other, being fixed to a mast which was hoisted in each of them. When they sail, several men sit on the timbers which lay from boat to boat; their cordage appeared to be formed of the outer covering of the cocoa-nut, and was exquisitely well made.'

These islands are supposed to be the Sonder Grondt and Vlieghen, visited by Schouten and Le Maire, in 1615, and the Aurora and Vesper of Roggewein, seen by that navigator in May, 1722. On the following day Commodore Byron went on shore and found some remains, pointing to a visit by European ships. He says, 'Our people, in rummaging some of the huts, found the carved head of a rudder which had manifestly belonged to a Dutch long-boat, and was very old and worm-eaten.' They also found some iron tools and other articles, pointing in the same direction. This island was visited by Captain Cook in 1774, and is named by the natives Tiookea, and is probably that one of the group of four mentioned in Roggewein's Voyages, in which the African galley was wrecked. This part of the island is situated in 14° 29′ S. lat., and 148° 50′ W. long., and is distant, says the commodore, 'about sixty-nine leagues from the Islands of Disappointment.'

On the 12th June they sailed to another island, a few miles distant, where the natives received them more amicably; to these two islands the commodore gave the name of King George's Islands. Continuing their course to the westward, they sighted an island on the following afternoon which received the name of Prince of Wales' Island. The commodore, being of opinion from the flocks of birds winging their way to the south, that there was a chain of islands lead-

ing to the continent towards the north, sailed in that direction, and on 21st June, in 169° 28′ W. long., saw a dangerous reef of rocks, and nine leagues distant, discovered land 'having the appearance of three islands with rocks between them.' Commodore Byron named the group—which some believe to be the San Bernardo discovered by Mendana in 1595—the Islands of Danger, and he says they were beautiful and very fertile, and 'swarmed with people whose habitations stood in clusters along the coast.' On the 24th they saw another island, which was named after the Duke of York; it was tenanted only by immense flocks of sea-fowl, and was thickly covered with cocoa-nut trees, the fruit of which was very grateful to the sick. Continuing the same westerly course till the 29th, on that day the commodore hauled to the northward and discovered, on the 2nd July, a low flat island, the inhabitants of which came off in above sixty proas, and some even came on board the ship, where they displayed their ingenuity in pilfering whatever they could lay their hands on. The officers named this island, which lies in 1° 18′ S. lat. and 173° 46′ E. long., Byron's Island, after the commodore.

Sailing hence in a northerly direction, the men began to suffer so greatly from scurvy that on the 22nd July, the course was directed almost due west for the island of Tinian, in the Ladrone group, where they anchored six days later in the same position that Commodore Anson had taken up. The sick were landed and accommodated in tents, and rapidly regained their strength, and all hands revelled in the unaccustomed

'Luxuries of woods,
The airy joys of social solitudes.'

While the ships lay at the south-west end of the island, the wind from the west increased to a gale, and they were compelled to put to sea for a week. They subsisted chiefly on wild hogs, cattle, and poultry, with abundance of cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, guavas, and other fruit, while bread was baked daily for the sick, so that they fared well. On the 30th September, the sick having recovered, and the ships being patched up and refitted, they sailed from Tinian, and passing close to Grafton Island, one of the Bashee group, on the 5th November anchored off the island of Timoan, whence they sailed two days later, and on the 14th arrived at an island named Pulo Toupoa, where lay a vessel which hoisted Dutch colours, but had a crew of Malays. Sailing on the following day, Commodore Byron, on the 19th, spoke a snow* in the service of the East India Company, bound from Bencoolen to Malacca and Bengal, the captain of which, learning that the biscuit of the English ships 'was rotten and full of worms, and that their beef and pork stunk intolerably,' sent the commodore two gallons of arrack, a turtle, twelve fowls, and a sheep, which' he adds, 'I verily believe was half of his stock, and would accept nothing but our thanks in return.' On the 27th they anchored at Batavia, where they saluted the Dutch flag with eleven guns, which was returned, and one of the English East India Company's ships-of-war from Bombay fired thirteen guns in honour of the commodore.

After a stay here till the 10th December, the ships steered for Prince's Island in the Straits of Sunda, where they remained a few days, and then sailed for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 13th February they came to an anchor at Cape Town, which they quitted on the

* A snow differs in rig from a brig only in having the boom-mainsail traversing on a trysail-mast instead of on the mainmast.

7th March, and crossed the line on the 25th. The *Tamar* being disabled by an accident to her rudder, the ships parted company on the 1st April, Captain Cumming steering for Antigua, and Commodore Byron, continuing his course, anchored in the Downs on the 9th May, 1766, having thus circumnavigated the globe in a little over twenty-two months.

For this remarkable feat, as it was then considered, and with justice, the commodore earned great renown, and was regarded as the most notable representative of his name. But though his voyage in the *Wager* under Captain Cheap, and his circumnavigation of the globe, with the discoveries which stamp his name on the face of every map, have immortalised him, it is not the naval officer but the poet who is recalled by the magic name, Byron. The latter mentions the sufferings of his ancestor in stanza 137 of the second canto of 'Don Juan:'

* * * * * 'for none
Had suffer'd more—his hardships were comparative
To those related in my grand-dad's narrative.'

CHAPTER VIII.

The Voyages of Circumnavigation of Captains Wallis and Carteret—Captain Wallis discovers Whitsun Island, also visits Tahiti, the Sagittaria of Quiros, and names other islands of the Society Group—Discovery of Wallis Island and return of Captain Wallis to England—Captain Carteret discovers Pitcairn and other islands, and explores the Solomon Islands, New Ireland and New Britain—His discovery of St. George's Channel, Sandwich Island, New Hanover, and the Admiralty Islands—Voyage of Circumnavigation of M. de Bougainville—He explores the Navigator Islands, the Great Cyclades, and the Louisiade Archipelago—The Fate of La Perouse.

ENGLAND has acquired great honour by the zeal for discovery which distinguished her seamen during the Georgian age. The enterprise, determination, and resource displayed by Anson, Byron, and others, revived the best traditions of the Elizabethan era, and showed that the naval officers of the eighteenth century were not inferior to the school of Drake and Frobisher. Still further was the glory of this island increased by the discoveries of Wallis, Carteret, and above all of Captain Cook, that greatest and most scientific of navigators, whose death in the cause of humanity and increase of knowledge has earned for him the halo that surrounds the head of the martyr. England is proud of those 'Ocean Warriors,' whose brave deeds are a heritage to her sons; but not less honour is due to the noble band of seamen who, whether in seas

Tropical or Arctic, have upheld her claim to the foremost place among the maritime nations of this world. While she still continues to rear them—and there is no apparent falling off in the breed—the noble lines describing England, 'that utmost corner of the west,' which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of the Archduke of Austria, in 'King John,' will still be applicable:

> 'That pale, that white-fac'd shore,
> Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides,
> And coops from other lands her islanders—
> . . . that England, hedg'd in with the main—
> That water-walled bulwark, still secure
> And confident from foreign purposes.'

The two seamen next in succession to Commodores Anson and Byron, to circumnavigate the globe, were Captains Wallis and Carteret, who sailed in company; but as they parted in the Straits of Magellan, and made the voyage separately, we must treat of their discoveries and adventures distinctly.

On the 22nd August, 1766, the *Dolphin* (Commodore Byron's ship), Captain Wallis; the *Swallow*, Captain Carteret; and the *Prince Frederick*, storeship, weighed from Plymouth Sound, and visited Madeira and Porto Praya, whence they sailed on the 28th September. On the 16th December they were off Cape de las Virgines—or, as the English navigators called it, Cape Virgin Mary—at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Magellan, and in ten days reached Port Famine, where they procured water, and the sick were landed and tents put up for their reception, so that with change of scene and a wholesome diet of fish and wild vegetables, they quickly recovered their health. The *Dolphin* and *Swallow* were replenished from the storeship *Prince Frederick*, which left for the Falkland Islands on the 17th January, 1767, carrying

some thousands of young trees for transplanting; and on the following day the ships sailed, but did not clear the Straits until the 11th April. During this period they anchored at Cape Gallant Bay, York Road, Good-luck Bay, Elizabeth Bay, and Upright Bay, and examined other points in the Straits, to which they gave the names of Butler's Bay (after one of the mates who discovered it), Lion's Cove (from the resemblance of a steep mountain to the head of that animal), and Swallow Harbour. The passage of the Straits, which had occupied nearly four months, had been marked by a succession of storms and severe weather in which the safety of the ships had been repeatedly endangered, and on the 11th April, the day succeeding that on which the two ships finally sailed from Upright Bay in company, they lost sight of each other and did not meet again during the whole voyage.*

Land was not seen after leaving the South American Coast until Saturday, the 6th June, when an island about four miles long by three wide, situated in 19° 26′ S. and 137° 56′ W., was discovered, to which Wallis gave the name of Whitsun Island, or Penticosta, on account of its having been sighted on the eve of Whit-Sunday. A party, under command of Lieutenant Furneaux,† landed on the island and collected some cocoanuts; but as no anchorage was to be found, the

* An excellent chart of the discoveries and plans of the harbours in the Straits of Magellan, made by Commodore Byron and Captains Wallis and Carteret, together with a description of all the bays and harbours explored by Captain Wallis, may be found in vol. i. of Hawkesworth's account of the voyages of these officers and Captain James Cook, published in 1773.

† This gentleman, who was second lieutenant of the *Dolphin*, sailed with Captain Cook a few years later, and was an excellent seaman and officer.

captain steered for a neighbouring island, which he named after Queen Charlotte. Both these islands were thickly inhabited, and as the supply of fresh water required replenishing, a party of twenty men and an officer was landed at Queen Charlotte's Island, and the sick were also sent on shore on the 8th and 9th June, to shake off the enfeebling effects of the scurvy and prolonged confinement on board ship. As no anchorage could be found, the *Dolphin* stood 'on and off' the shore during the night, and on the 10th, Captain Wallis, having taken possession of the islands in the name of George III., sailed with a fine breeze. He discovered, fifteen miles distant, another low inhabited island, to which he gave the name of Egmont, and on the following day sighted another, which he called Gloucester Island, after the Duke of Gloucester.

On the 12th June, an island was discovered, which Captain Wallis named after the Duke of Cumberland; and at daybreak on the following day, yet another, which he called Prince William Henry Island, in honour of the king's third son. Still continuing his course to the westward without anchoring, on the 17th June he came to an island which he named Osnaburgh, after Prince Frederick, bishop of that see; but finding that there was no anchorage, and that even boats could not communicate with the shore by reason of the surf, he continued his course on the following day, and, in the afternoon, sighted a large island, the chief of the Society group, which he called after his Majesty King George III., though it is supposed to be the same as was discovered by De Quiros, notwithstanding the difference of a few miles in latitude and about two degrees in longitude. This island, now known as Tahiti, is described as an earthly paradise by

writers of this time, and Lord Byron pictures its beauties in glowing language:

'Where all partake the earth without dispute,
And bread* itself is gathered as a fruit;
Where none contest the fields, the woods, the streams.
The godless age, where gold disturbs no dreams,
Inhabits or inhabited the shore,
Till Europe taught them better than before;
Bestow'd her customs and amended theirs,
But left her vices also to their heirs.'

Whether this island was that mentioned by De Quiros as Sagittaria, in 1606, as some say, Wallis's visit is of sufficient importance to make his voyage memorable in the annals of nautical research.

Captain Wallis sailed along the coast to discover a suitable anchorage, and the boats were sent on shore to procure water, but were unable to land owing to the hostility of the people who, nevertheless, came off to the ship, but attacked the boats so that it was necessary to have recourse to firearms. On the 23rd June, while standing in shore with the boats ahead sounding, the ship grounded on a reef, and for some little time was in a position of imminent danger; but she floated off and anchored in a bay, and on the following day was warped into a safe berth within the reef and some 500 yards from the mouth of a river. While thus engaged, they were surrounded by 300 canoes, having on board some 2000 people, who commenced an attack with showers of stones from slings, and they were only dispersed by a free use of the great guns of the ship.

On the 25th Lieutenant Furneaux landed with a strong party, and planted a staff, with a pendant, in token of his having taken possession of the island, and on the following day commenced to fill the water-casks,

* The poet here alludes to the bread-fruit.

when the Indians assembled in such force that the boats were forced to return, leaving the casks behind. As the canoes gathered round the ship in hundreds, Captain Wallis opened fire and scattered them, and having dispersed the people on shore, landed a party, and destroyed fifty of their canoes, some of which, he says, 'were sixty feet long, and three feet broad, and lashed together.' The Indians now showed more friendliness and brought eleven hogs and some cloth, for which Captain Wallis made presents in return, and removed the casks which were found to be uninjured. Amicable relations being now restored, the sick were landed under a guard and a regular traffic established with the natives, advantage being taken of the fine weather to caulk and refit the ship.

On the 11th July a woman, who appeared to be the queen of the island, came on board and invited Captain Wallis, who, as well as his first lieutenant, had long been suffering from illness, to accompany her on shore to her residence, which he did, escorted by a great multitude, and found that 'the house covered a piece of ground 327 feet long and forty-two broad, and consisted of a roof thatched with palm leaves and raised upon thirty-nine pillars on each side and fourteen middle, the ridge of the thatch being thirty feet high and the sides of the house twelve feet, all below the roof being open.' On the following day Captain Wallis made suitable presents in return, and on the 15th July sent Lieutenant Furneaux (the first lieutenant being still ill) with a party of sixty men in boats to explore the country to the westward, and they penetrated some distance inland, and found it pleasant and fertile. The queen paid a visit to Captain Wallis, and continued to supply him with hogs and fruit in great abundance, for which

she refused any payment. The islanders preferred iron nails to any other articles of traffic, and the seamen made a practice of stealing them from various parts of the *Dolphin's* fittings, thereby endangering the ship ; at length one of the seamen was found drawing some out of the 'cleats,'* upon which the captain, who had hitherto been unable to discover the delinquents, punished him by having him 'whipped with nettles, while he ran the gauntlet thrice round the deck,' and ordered that no man, except the wooders and waterers, with their guard, should be permitted to go on shore. On the 25th June, Captain Wallis sent Mr. Gore, one of the mates (who sailed with Cook in his first and third voyages), and four midshipmen, all the marines and forty seamen, on an expedition of exploration, while he proceeded on shore and observed an eclipse of the sun.

At length, on Monday, the 27th July, the *Dolphin* sailed amid the most lively manifestations of regret by all the people; the queen, who came on board daily, giving vent to a passionate outburst of tears at parting with her pale-skinned friends.

Captain Wallis says : 'She embraced us all in the most affectionate manner and with many tears ; all her attendants also expressed great sorrow at our departure. In a few minutes she came into the bow of her canoe, where she sat weeping with inconsolable sorrow. I gave her many things which I thought would be of great use to her, and some for ornament ; she silently accepted it all, but took little notice of anything. About ten o'clock we had got without the reef, and a fresh breeze springing up, our Indian friends, and particularly

* Cleats are pieces of wood nailed to the ship's side or lower masts, to 'belay' or fasten the ropes to.

the queen, once more bade us farewell, with such tenderness of grief and affection as filled both my heart and my eyes.' Altogether the scene reminds us of the parting between the 'pious' Æneas and Dido, with which our schoolboy studies have made us all familiar, when the love-sick queen of Carthage addresses her parting lover:

> 'Nec te noster amor, nec te data dextera quondam,
> Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?'

To this harbour, where they had received so much hospitality, Captain Wallis gave the name of Port Royal Harbour.

Proceeding along the shore of Duke of York's Island, on the following day Captain Wallis sighted an island in 17° 28′ S. lat. and 151° 4′ W. long., to which he gave the name of Sir Charles Saunders' Island, after the British admiral of that name; and on the 30th discovered another island of the Society group, which he called after Lord Howe. The same day they passed close to some dangerous islets and shoals, which received the name of Scilly Islands, and continued their course to the westward without seeing any land until the 13th August, when they sighted two islands which Captain Wallis called after Admirals Boscawen and Keppel. These islands, situated in 15° 50′ S. lat. and 175° W. long., are respectively Cocos and Verreders' (or Traitors') Islands, visited by Le Maire and Schouten in May, 1616. Captain Wallis sent a boat on shore to seek for a suitable landing-place, in order that he might replenish his stock of water; but the report of the officer in charge being unsatisfactory, and his ship in a leaky state, he determined to proceed to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope route, instead of by the Straits of Magellan, touching at Tinian and Batavia.

On the 16th August they discovered yet another island, inhabited like the others, and surrounded by rocks, of which the master made an examination in a boat, without landing. This island, which lies in 13° 18′ S. lat., 177° W. long., the officers named after their commander, Wallis Island. They now steered to the north-west, and on the 3rd September saw land, which was supposed to be the Piscadores Islands.

On the 18th they sighted Saypan, one of the Ladrones, and soon after, Tinian, off which they anchored on the following day. The sick were immediately landed, and the necessary repairs to the ship commenced; and by the 15th October, these being completed, the sick removed, and a supply of fruit, water, and beef laid in, as by Commodore Anson at his visit, the *Dolphin* sailed on the following day.

Much heavy weather was encountered until they passed the Bashee Islands. On the 3rd November they sighted three small islands, which were named Sandy Isle, Small Key, and Long Island, and on the following day saw a fourth, which was called New Island ; all of these islands, together with some shoals, are between 10° 5′ and 10° 40′ N. lat. and 247° 12′ and 247° 50′ W. long. On the 30th November they anchored off Batavia, and having laid in supplies, sailed on 8th December. The *Dolphin* touched at Prince's Island on 14th December for wood and water, and on the 20th sailed for the Cape, where she arrived on the 4th February. During the passage she lost a large number of men from sickness, but a residence on shore quickly recovered those who were ailing ; and the ship sailed on the 3rd March, and, touching at St. Helena for water, finally anchored in the Downs on the 20th May, 1768. From the point of view of geographical

research, this voyage of Captain Wallis was eminently successful, as owing to his having directed his course more westerly than any other navigator had done before in so high a latitude, he discovered no less than fourteen islands.

We will now give some account of the not less noteworthy voyage and discoveries of Captain Carteret, the officer in command of the *Swallow*, who had sailed with Commodore Byron in his memorable voyage round the world.

The *Swallow* parted company with the *Dolphin*, as already related, on the 11th April, at the western entrance of the Straits of Magellan, a result due, as appears from Captain Carteret's narrative,* to his ship's bad sailing qualities. He steered a northerly course along the coast of Chili, and after encountering very stormy weather, on the 10th May sighted Juan Fernandez; but finding that the Spaniards had erected a fort on the island, sailed for Mas-a-Fuero, about thirty-one leagues distant, where they anchored on the 12th. Here the seamen enjoyed

'The chace, the race, the liberty to roam.'

Having watered the ship with infinite difficulty owing to the tempestuous weather, Captain Carteret sailed, on the 24th May, to the northward in search of the islands of St. Ambrose and St. Felix, or St. Paul, laid down in Green's Charts, published in 1753, and in Robertson's 'Elements of Navigation.' He also searched for the land called in the charts Davis Lands, said to be situated in 27° S. lat., and which was supposed to be

* See vol. i. of Hawkesworth's Voyages, from page 305. Captain Carteret implies that the separation was wilful on the part of Captain Wallis, who would neither permit him to return to England nor accompany him in the *Dolphin*, his own ship being such an inferior sailer.

the Eastern Island of Roggewein; but though the search was continued until the 17th June, it was, of course, without success. However, they were amply rewarded on the 2nd July, by a discovery having much interest attaching to it, that of an island in 25° 2′ S. lat., 133° 21′ W. long., which Captain Carteret named Pitcairn, after the young midshipman who sighted it.

On the 11th July a low island, in 22° S. lat., 141° 34′ W. long., was seen, to which was given the name of Bishop of Osnaburgh's Island (the second so called, the other being named by Captain Wallis); and on the following day they discovered two small islands—on one of which they landed, but found no water—which were named after the Duke of Gloucester, and Captain Carteret expressed an opinion that they were the same as those mentioned by Quiros.

The crew were now again suffering greatly from scurvy, and as the ship was in a leaky condition, the course was altered to the north, in the hope of reaching some island whence, after repairing the ship, he might continue his search for the great southern continent, the existence of which was vouched by Dalrymple and other enthusiasts, and not finally dissipated until Captain Cook manifested its impossibility.

At length, at daybreak on the 12th August, when the ship was in a critical condition owing to a leak in the bows, and the crew were in a desponding state, land was seen, which proved to be a cluster of islands, and in the evening the *Swallow* was brought to anchor off one of them. Search was now made by the cutter and launch for a convenient landing-place, but the Indians attacked the boats' crews, and the master and three seamen of the launch, which went to a place sixteen miles to the westward, died from the effects of the

wounds received from the arrows of the islanders. Parties were sent on shore to take in water, but the natives assumed so hostile an attitude, that it was necessary to cannonade the woods adjacent to the watering-place.

Captain Carteret—finding there was no chance of procuring supplies here, and himself and his first lieutenant, with the gunner and thirty men, including seven wounded, being incapacitated from duty owing to illness—sailed on the 17th August, from the island, which he called Egmont, and referring to its having been discovered by Mendana in September 1595, he says, 'it certainly is the same to which the Spaniards have given the name of Santa Cruz.' The place where the ship lay he called Swallow Bay, and adjacent points he named Swallow Point, Cape Byron, and Hanway's Point; and as he sailed along the island to the westward, named several other bays and promontories, including Bloody Bay, Granville River, Carteret Point, Trevanion Island and Cape, forming the western extremity, and distant about fifty miles from Cape Byron, the eastern end. On leaving the island, Captain Carteret gave the general name of Queen Charlotte's Islands to the group, which he called individually after Lords Howe, Egmont, Edgcumbe, and Admiral Keppel, and others he named Ourry, Volcano, and Swallow.

Captain Carteret sailed on the 18th August, and on the 20th discovered, to the north-east of the Solomon Islands, first seen by Mendana, a small island he called Gower, where he procured some cocoanuts, and the same night, two other islands which were named Simpson and Carteret.* On the 24th, they fell in with

* Carteret Island, as well as others named by De Bougainville, form part of the Solomon group.

a cluster of nine islands, stretching about fifteen leagues, in 4° 36′ S. lat., 154° 17′ E. long., which Captain Carteret supposed to be those discovered by Tasman and called Ohang Java. On the following night, at a distance of fifteen leagues, he discovered an island, which was named after Sir Charles Hardy, and early next morning, another, ten leagues distant, which received the name of Winchelsea; all these islands were inhabited. On the 26th they saw a large island to the northward, which Captain Carteret supposed to be the St. John of Schouten, and soon after sighted the New Britain of Dampier, where, two days later, the *Swallow* anchored in a bay, near a small island distant about three leagues north-west of Dampier's Cape St. George, situated in 5° S. lat., 152° 19′ E. long., which was named Wallis Island. So debilitated were the crew by scurvy that though they were desirous of proceeding to a more suitable harbour, they were two days before they succeeded in heaving up the anchor; at length, on the 30th, they sailed to a small harbour three miles distant, which was called English Cove, where they procured abundance of wood and water, and having lightened the ship, heeled her over and stopped the leak, and repaired her as well as their limited means permitted.

On the 7th September Captain Carteret sailed from English Cove, after formally taking possession of the country in the name of his sovereign; and hearing that there was a plentiful supply of cocoanuts in a harbour about four leagues to the west-north-west, sailed thither and anchored close to an island which he called Cocoanut Island. From this harbour, which was named after himself, Captain Carteret sailed on the 9th September, directing his course for Batavia, by Cape St. Mary, adopting the course taken by Dampier in 1699-1700,

but the winds and currents being against him, he was compelled to alter his course, and steered close round the coast of what he considered was a portion of the Nova Britannia of Dampier, into a deep bay, or gulf, lying between Cape St. George and Cape Orford, which that navigator had named St. George's Bay at the time of his discovery on the 8th March, 1700. On arriving at a point five miles south-west of Cocoanut Island, Captain Carteret steered in a north-westerly direction, according to the trend of the land, when he found that what Dampier had called St. George's Bay was a channel between two islands. He says, 'Before it was dark we found this channel divided by a pretty large island, which I called the Duke of York's Island,* and some smaller islands that were scattered about it. On the southernmost side of the main or the largest of the two islands that are divided by the channel or strait, which I left in possession of its ancient name, New Britain, there is some high land, and three remarkable hills close to each other, which I called the Mother and Daughters. To the east of these hills there is a point which I called Cape Palliser, and another to the westward, which I called Cape Stephens. Cape Stephens is the northernmost part of New Britain. North of this cape is an island which I called the Isle of Man. The strait here, including the two passages, is about fifteen

* One cannot help remarking on the want of ingenuity of Captains Wallis and Carteret and some other navigators in the selection of names for their discoveries. The Spaniards and Portuguese, from the time of Vasco de Gama and Columbus, had recourse almost solely to the Romish Calendar of Saints, whereas Wallis and Carteret harped continually on the names of their patrons and of the English royal family, and there were no end to the islands and bays and promontories named after King George and Queen Charlotte, the Duke of York, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, and other members of the royal house.

leagues broad.' After describing Duke of York's Island, Captain Carteret proceeds : 'The latitude of this island is 4° 9′ S., longitude 151° 20′ E., and it is twenty-five leagues distant from Cape George. As I coasted, not New Britain, but the northernmost coast of the strait, I passed through the passage that is formed by that coast and the corresponding side of Duke of York's Island,* which is about eight leagues broad, and may be considered as the first narrow of the strait ; and then north-west by north all night, we found that at daybreak we had lost sight of the southernmost island, or New Britain ; and having now ascertained the supposed bay to be a strait, I called it St. George's Channel, and to the Northern Island I gave the name of Nova Hibernia, or New Ireland.'

Continuing his course along the coast of New Ireland, he discovered that night 'a fine large island' in 2° 53′ S. lat., 149° 17′ E. long., which Captain Carteret called Sandwich Island in honour of the earl, afterwards First Lord of the Admiralty. While becalmed between this island and New Ireland, 10 canoes put off from the latter, with about 150 men on board, who came near enough to exchange some trifles, which were conveyed at the end of a long stick, but none of them would venture on board the *Swallow*. 'The canoes,' says Captain Carteret, 'were very long and very narrow, with an outrigger, and one could not be

* From a careful consideration of the above extract from Captain Carteret's journal, it would appear that a mistake has been made in the chart of that officer's discoveries in New Britain and New Ireland, accompanying the account of his voyage, and facing page 375 of Hawkesworth's work. Therein the island which answers in every particular as to description and position to that named Duke of York's Island is called the Isle of Man, whereas the latter is the small island lying due north of Cape Stephens in the chart.

less than 90 feet long, for it was very little shorter than the ship; it was formed of a single tree, and had some carved ornaments about it and was rowed or paddled by 33 men, but we saw no appearance of sails. The people are black and woolly-headed like negroes, but have not the flat nose and thick lips, and we thought much the same as the inhabitants of Egmont Island; like them they were all stark naked, except a few ornaments, made of shell, upon their arms and legs. The wool upon their heads was very abundantly powdered with white powder, and also their beards. They were armed with spears and long sticks or poles, but we did not see any bows or arrows among them. They had fishing-nets with them, which, as well as their cordage, seemed to be very well made.'

Soon after leaving Sandwich Island they passed the south-west extremity of New Ireland,* which was called Cape Byron, and opposite it, in continuation of the line of coast, lay a fine large island, to which was given the name of New Hanover, and the south-west point of it was called Queen Charlotte's Foreland. The strait between this island and New Ireland, and a small island within it having a remarkable peak, were named after Commodore Byron. Still steering westward, on the following day (the 13th September) they saw, about eight leagues from New Hanover, six or seven small islands, which were named in honour of the Duke of Portland.

* At the south-east end of New Ireland are Ports Carteret (named after the great explorer), Sulphur and Praslin, where a French colony under the Marquis de Rays has recently been formed. New Ireland lies between 2° 25′ and 4° 52′ S. lat., and 153° 12′ and 150° 30′ E. long.

The discovery of this strait alone places this voyage among the most remarkable in the annals of nautical enterprise, and much credit is due to Captain Carteret for his energy and intelligence under depressing influences. He had suffered from ill-health throughout the entire voyage, and says in explanation of the want of fulness in his observations of the productions and people of the islands he visited: 'I had been so much enfeebled and dispirited by illness, as almost to sink under the duty that for want of officers devolved upon me, being obliged, when I was scarcely able to crawl, to keep watch and watch, and share other duties with my lieutenant, whose health also was greatly impaired.'

On the following day they discovered a large island, eighteen leagues in length, and many of smaller size, lying to the southward, to the whole of which they gave the name of Admiralty Isles.* On the morning of the 15th, the natives, to the number of several hundreds, came off in canoes similar to those already described, but having sails of matting, and approaching the ship with gestures of friendship, shot a flight of spears, upon which a fire of musketry was opened upon them with considerable effect, and they dispersed. Continuing their course to the westward, they discovered, on the 19th, two more islands, which they called respectively Durour's Island, situated in about 1° 14′ S. lat., 143° 21′ E. long., and Mattys' Island, a little to the southward and eastward. On the 24th they passed two small islands in 0° 22′ S. lat., 138° 39′ E. long., which

* Captain Carteret places the middle of the largest of the group in 2° 18′ S. lat., 146° 44′ E. long., and distant thirty-five leagues from Queen Charlotte's Foreland, due west. They are the twenty-five islands discovered by Le Maire and Schouten in July, 1616, and visited by Tasman in 1643, and by Dampier in February, 1700.

received the name of Stephens' Islands; and on the following day three other islands, the people of which came off to the ship and appeared very friendly, urging the English to go on shore. Captain Carteret, however, pursued his course, and named the group—which the natives called Pegau, Onata, and Onello—the Freewill Islands, after one of the natives, whom he named Joseph Freewill, from his persisting in accompanying his new friends.*

On the 28th they passed a dangerous shoal, eleven or twelve miles in circuit, and a small island; on the 12th October a small island, which was called Current Island; and on the following day two other islands, which received the name of St. Andrew's Islands.

The north-east part of the island of Mindanao, in the Philippines, was made on the 26th October, and on the 2nd November they came to an anchor in a small bay, which was named Deceitful Bay, from the natives pretending friendship while they sought to entrap into an ambuscade a party sent to procure water and supplies. Captain Carteret coasted along the shores of this island, of which he gives 'a more particular account' in his journal, as he says 'Dampier's description is in several particulars erroneous.' He named one of the small islands that lie on the southern extremity of Mindanao, Hummock Island, and to a bay about ten leagues north of Cape St. Augustina, the south-east extremity of the island, he gave the name of Disappointment Bay. Passing through the Strait of Macassar, between the islands of Borneo and Celebes, of which he points out the many errors in the charts of that date, on the 15th

* This man lost his health at sea, and died soon after the *Swallow* arrived at Celebes. Captain Carteret places the largest of these islands in 50′ N. lat., 137° 51′ E. long.

December he anchored off the town of Macassar in the latter island, having been thirty-five weeks on the passage from the Straits of Magellan.

Here an unexpected obstacle arose to the supply of provisions to the crew of the *Swallow*, who were in a most deplorable state from illness. The Dutch Governor refused to supply any necessaries or to permit the ship to remain in port, upon which, Captain Carteret, driven to desperation, expressed his determination to attack the town and sell the lives of himself and crew as dearly as possible, 'rather than have put again to sea, where our destruction either by shipwreck, sickness, or famine was inevitable.' The Dutch authorities persisting in their refusal, he weighed anchor and prepared to enforce his threat, upon which they made a virtue of necessity, and an agreement was signed that, if he would proceed to the town of Bonthain, in the island of Celebes, about ninety miles to the south-east of Macassar, he should be permitted to land his sick, and all his wants be supplied. On the 20th December the *Swallow* sailed for Bonthain, where abundance of provisions were procured during their stay, and the sick were landed and accommodated in a small fort, under a guard of Dutch soldiers, all communication being forbidden between the English and the natives of the place.

On the 22nd May, when navigation to the westward was again practicable, and such essential repairs as were possible had been effected, the *Swallow* sailed from Bonthain, and on the 3rd June anchored at Batavia. Here Captain Carteret demanded permission to repair his ship so as to enable him to undertake the voyage to Europe, and after much delay the request was granted. Under charge of a pilot the ship proceeded to Onrust, where she was placed under the hands of the carpenters.

'We found,' says Captain Carteret, 'the bowsprit and cap, as well as the mainyard, rotten and altogether unserviceable, the sheathing everywhere eaten off by the worms, and the main planks of the ship's bottom much damaged and decayed.' The ship being freshly sheathed and all the repairs effected, she sailed on the 15th September, and arrived at Cape Town on the 28th November. Since their departure from Europe, thirty-one seamen had died, and the crew were in such a sickly state that Captain Carteret was compelled to remain here till the 6th January, 1769. The *Swallow* touched at St. Helena and Ascension, and on the 19th February was hailed by a ship which proved to be commanded by M. de Bougainville, who was returning from his voyage round the world, and sent a boat on board. On the 20th March the *Swallow* anchored at Spithead, having completed one of the most memorable voyages of circumnavigation on record.

We will now give some account of the discoveries of the celebrated French circumnavigator who, like Vanderdecken in the phantom ship, had crossed the path of Commodore Byron in the Straits of Magellan in 1765, and again of Captain Carteret in mid ocean.

The French Government having decided on surrendering possession of their settlement in the Falkland Islands to the Spaniards, M. de Bougainville was despatched from the port of Mindin on the 15th November, 1766, with the *Boudeuse*, *Esmeralda*, and *Liebre*, the storeship *L'Etoile* being ordered to join him at the islands, and, on the completion of the transfer, he was commissioned to proceed on a voyage of discovery round the world. Severe weather compelled him to put into Brest, whence he sailed on the 5th December, with a crew of 200 men and eleven officers,

and came to an anchor in the Bay of Montevideo, on the 31st January, 1767. Here he was joined by two Spanish ships, under Don Philip Ruis Puente, who was deputed to receive the surrender of the islands, and sailed again on the 28th February. On the 1st April, M. de Bougainville formally ceded the island to the Spanish Governor, those of the settlers who wished to remain being under the new flag, and the remainder being conveyed to Montevideo, and thence to France in the Spanish ships. After waiting at the island till the 2nd June, in expectation of the *Etoile* storeship, and finding that she did not arrive, M. de Bougainville, having only two months' provisions on board, sailed for Rio de Janeiro, where he had directed her to wait for him if she was prevented from proceeding further. The *Boudeuse* arrived at Rio on the 20th June, and there found the *Etoile*, the commander of which, M. de la Giraudais, explained that he left France two months after the stipulated time, and having encountered severe weather, had only arrived at Rio a few days before M. de Bougainville.

On the 15th July the two French ships proceeded in company for Montevideo, where they arrived on the 31st, and having procured from Buenos Ayres a supply of flour and biscuit, of which they were in much need, sailed thence on the 14th November. Cape de las Virgines, the eastern entrance of the Straits of Magellan, was sighted on the 2nd December, but contrary winds detained them in the Straits seven weeks and three days. The time occupied by this navigator and others whose voyages we have detailed, in threading the Straits of Magellan, contrasts unfavourably with that taken by famous seamen two centuries before. Thus, Sir Francis Drake made Cape de las Virgines on the

22nd August, 1578, and entered the South Seas on the 6th September, being only seventeen days on the passage.

M. de Bougainville landed on some rocks near to a place which he named French Bay, and hoisted French colours, when, he says, the rocks resounded for the first time with cries of 'Vive le Roi!'—rather an equivocal compliment to the enterprise of his countrymen, as the seamen of Spain and England were long familiar with every bight and headland of these Straits. M. de Bougainville, taking two boats from the *Boudeuse* and *Etoile*, explored a portion of the coast of Terra del Fuego, and named some points. A bay he called after M. Duclos, his second in command, an officer in whose knowledge and experience he placed great confidence; other harbours and bays he named Beaubassia (from its beauty), De la Cormorandière (from a rock about a mile distant), the port of the Cascade, and Bougainville Bay, close to Port Gallant (at the bottom of Fortescue Bay), where they were detained for twenty-six days by stress of weather, and the astronomer, M. de Verron, made numerous observations. He also named two islands, about nine miles from Cape Forward, 'Two Sisters,' and three capes on the Continent, near the western extremity of the Straits, he named Capes Etoile, Boudeuse, and Fendu (Split); and the Straits in this part, which have a breadth of six miles, he called Longue Rue (Long Reach).

From the 27th January, when they entered the South Sea, until the 17th February, M. de Bougainville searched in vain for the mysterious island called Davis's Land, after that navigator, who claimed to have discovered it in 1686. On the 22nd March they fell in with small islands, to which M. de Bougainville gave

the name of 'Les Quatres Facardins;' and a few hours later, another island, about nine miles in circumference, which he called the Island of Lance-bearers, from the staves or lances which the inhabitants carried. On the 23rd another low-lying island was sighted, which received the name of Harp Island; and the same evening they saw a cluster of eleven islands, which were named 'Dangerous Archipelago,' and are the same as those discovered by Quiros in 1606, and visited in 1722 by Roggewein, who named them the Labyrinth. The ships now stood to the south, and on the 2nd April the island of Tahiti was seen, which had been discovered by Captain Wallis in the *Dolphin*. It was with no small delight that the crews, who had been suffering greatly from scurvy, anchored off this island, the sensuous enchantments of which had exercised so powerful an influence on the minds of the English seamen, and had even a greater effect on the French mariners. The sick were landed and placed in a building, under a guard of thirty marines, and plentiful supplies of provisions and water were laid in. The people of Tahiti were most friendly to their new friends, whom they treated with the hospitality and confidence they had displayed towards the English officers and seamen, under Captain Wallis's command.

'The cava* feast, the yam, the cocoa's root,
Which bears at once the cup, and milk, and fruit,

* Of this cava-plant and the method in which it is prepared for the feast, Captain Cook gives a description, which is less pleasing than Lord Byron, with poetic licence, would have us believe: 'A root of the kava-plant being brought and laid down before the king, he ordered it to be split into pieces and distributed to several people of both sexes, who began the operation of chewing it, and a bowl of their favourite liquor was soon prepared.' This liquor was afterwards served out to the guests.

> The bread-tree, which, without the ploughshare, yields
> The unreap'd harvest of unfurrow'd fields,
> And bakes its unadulterated loaves
> Without a furnace in unpurchased groves,
> And flings off famine from its fertile breast,
> A priceless market for the gathering guest.'

At length, all preparations for departure being complete, on the 15th April, 1768, M. de Bougainville sailed, having first taken possession of the island in the name of his sovereign, and buried in a bottle a record of the names of the officers of the expedition, a course he adopted throughout the voyage.

A native of Tahiti embarked, at his own request, on board the *Boudeuse*, and proceeded in her to France, whence, after a residence of eleven months in Paris, he was sent to Mauritius, the governor of which was directed to transport him to his own country; but whether this was done is not mentioned in De Bougainville's account of his voyage.

On the day after leaving Tahiti they saw two other of the Society Islands, and between the 2nd and 5th May passed several islands, to which the French commodore gave the name of the Archipelago of the Navigators, from the number of canoes which followed the ships. On the morning of the 11th May, another island was sighted, which was called the Forlorn Hope, though why is not stated, but possibly on account of the sufferings of the crews who were attacked by scurvy in an aggravated form. Two more islands were discovered on the 22nd, which received the names of Aurora (from the early hour it was seen) and Whitsuntide; and on the following day a lofty island was sighted, clothed with trees, which was named the Isle of Lepers, from that disease being prevalent among the people. Three boats landed here and took in a supply of wood, the natives

showing great hostility. On the 23rd more land was discovered, which on the 25th 'was observed to enclose almost all the horizon so that the ships were surrounded in one extensive gulf, while the coast of the newly-discovered country contained many other gulfs, or large inlets, across which several boats were observed rowing from one shore to another.' It is added that on the night of the 25th, 'the number of isles now seen was so great that they could not be counted, nor could the end of these extensive countries be discerned.'

After a vain attempt to communicate with the people of these islands, M. de Bougainville quitted the cluster, to which he gave the name of Archipelago of the Great Cyclades. Notwithstanding his statement to the contrary, they are supposed to be the same as were visited by Quiros on the 30th April, 1606, who named them Tierra Austral de Espiritu Santo, and subsequently, in 1774, by Captain Cook, who gave them their present name of New Hebrides. Here our author records an extraordinary circumstance. A servant of a gentleman on board the *Etoile* was reported to be a woman, upon which the commodore went on board that ship and ascertained such to be the case on her own confession. This woman, whose name was Baré, having been ruined by a lawsuit, resolved to earn a livelihood as a man, and adopting male attire, proceeded to Rochefort, where she entered the service of M. de Commerçon, who sailed in the *Etoile* for the purpose of increasing his botanical knowledge. In this capacity she accompanied her master on expeditions to the tops of mountains in the Straits of Magellan, carrying loads of plants, arms, and provisions, with unfaltering resolution. M. de Bougainville observes, that she was the first woman to make the

voyage of circumnavigation, and as such her name and story are worthy of record.

On the night of the 4th June, a low, flat, sandy isle was seen, which received the name of Shoal of Diana, and two days later a sandbank was discovered. The provisions now began to run short, and a goat and dog were sacrificed, while the salt meat had become so putrid that the rats, when they could be found, were eaten in preference. On the 10th land was seen, and for several succeeding days numerous islands were sighted off the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, which were called the Louisiade Archipelago, a name they still bear, being the same as were discovered by Torres in 1606. A promontory was named Cape Deliverance, because it promised relief from the perils of threading these dangerous islands, and a bay on the west side of the cape was called Gulf of the Louisiade.

About sixty leagues to the north two other islands were discovered, the natives of which, on the 1st July, attacked the French boats sent to find an anchorage, but were driven off by musketry fire. The river off the mouth of which this took place, received the name of Warriors' River, and the island and bay were called after the Duke de Choiseul.* A cape was discovered two days afterwards, which was named Cape l'Averdi, and on the following day an island, which they called Bouka. M. de Bougainville followed much the same course as that taken by Torres in 1606, and on the 5th July anchored off an island, where the sick were sent on shore and the water-casks filled. A seaman looking for shells dug up from the sand a plate of lead, on which the following letters were still visible, 'hor'd here

* This island, also others named after the French circumnavigator and Carteret, are in the Solomon group.

Ick Majesty's.' After a diligent search, a spot was discovered about six miles distant, where had been an English encampment, and a large tree was found on which the inscription had been nailed, also several other trees lying about that had been felled and sawn up. Having named the harbour where they lay Port Praslin, they sailed on the 24th July; but owing to light winds, remained on the coast until early in August, the natives coming off daily in their canoes and displaying great hostility. On the 4th August two islands were seen, which were conjectured to be the Matthias and Stormy Islands of Dampier, and on the following day, the northern extremity of New Britain. Two days later a thickly-inhabited island was passed, which received the name of Isle of Anchorets, and numerous small islands were seen, rendering the navigation difficult. On the 23rd August, M. Denys, master of the *Boudeuse*, died of scurvy, of which disease at this time upwards of forty men were afflicted. A southerly course was now steered, to clear the labyrinth of islands, and on the 26th they crossed the meridian for the fifth time. Passing several islands on the 27th and 28th, they sighted Ceram, one of the Moluccas, on the 31st, and on the 2nd September anchored off the Dutch factory at the entrance of the Gulf of Cajeli, in the island of Boero (or Bouro), where the French were hospitably entertained by the Dutch President, who supplied them with all necessaries and permitted the sick to be landed.

On the 7th September, M. de Bougainville sailed from Boero for Batavia, where he anchored on the 27th. Here the crews suffered greatly from illness, but regained their health soon after proceeding to sea. The ships sailed on the 16th October, 1768, and put in at the Isle of France, where the *Etoile* was left behind

for repairs, and did not arrive in France till a month after the *Boudeuse*. M. de Bougainville sailed from Mauritius on 12th December, touched at the Cape and St. Helena, encountered the *Swallow* under Captain Carteret, as already mentioned, and anchored at St. Malo on the 16th March, after an absence of two years and four months.

Irrespective of the extent of the seas over which he sailed and the lands he visited, for his actual discoveries were of no special importance, Quiros having first seen the Great Cyclades, and Tasman the Navigators, this voyage of Commodore de Bougainville is entitled to honourable mention among similar enterprises of the century for the comparative immunity from loss. During the entire period of his absence from France, though he had much illness on board his ship, he only lost seven of his crew, a sanitary feat only excelled by Cook and other navigators of a later era. M. de Bougainville published, in 1774, an interesting account, in two volumes, of his voyage round the world, which was translated into English, in the following year, by J. R. Forster.*

* The following is a list, to the time of Captain Cook, of all the circumnavigators, the ports from which they sailed, the dates of their respective voyages, and their return :

	From		Returned
1. Ferdinand Magellan	Seville in Spain	Aug. 10, 1519	Sept. 8, 1522
2. Sir Francis Drake	Plymouth Sound	Dec. 30, 1577	Sept. 16, 1586
3. Sir Thomas Candish or Cavendish	Plymouth	July 25, 1586	Sept. 9, 1588
4. Oliver Van Noort	Goeree	Sept. 13, 1598	Aug. 26, 1601
5. George Spilbergen	The Texel	Aug. 8, 1614	July 1, 1617
6. William Schouten and James Le Maire	The Texel	June 24, 1615	July 1, 1617
7. The Nassau fleet under Jacques l'Hermite and J. Huppon	Goeree	April 29, 1623	Jan. 21, 1626
8. Captain Cowley	Virginia	Aug. 23, 1683	Oct. 12, 1686

A sad fate attaches to the name of another French explorer. In 1783, the government of that country despatched La Perouse on a voyage of discovery, but after his arrival in the Southern Seas, he was never heard of again, though Captain Dillon, who sailed from Calcutta in 1827, in the Hon. East India Company's ship *Research*, succeeded in finding at Tucopia, one of the Malicolo Islands, in the New Hebrides, some relics which were recognised by the French Government as having been the property of that unfortunate navigator; and in 1829 the dignity of Knight of the Legion of Honour was conferred on Captain Dillon, with an indemnity of 10,000 francs, and a pension of 4000 francs, in accordance with the reward offered in the decree of 28th February 1798.

In 1769 the Spaniards sent out a ship to trace the discoveries of the English and French commanders, Byron, Wallis, Carteret and De Bougainville, which arrived at Tahiti, or Otaheite, in 1771, and touched at Easter Island. In the same year also, the French fitted out another ship from the Mauritius, under the command of Captain Kerguelen, who discovered some barren islands in 49° S. lat., 70° E. long., which were named Kerguelen Land, and were visited a few years later by Captain Cook. The discoveries and explora-

	From		Returned
9. Captain William Dampier...	Virginia	Aug. 28, 1683...	Sept. 16, 1691
10. Captain Dampier and Mr. Funnel	The Downs	Aug. 9, 1703...	August, 1706
11. Captains Rogers, Cooke and Courtney.....	Bristol	June 15, 1708...	Oct. 1, 1711
12. Captain John Clipperton...	Plymouth	Feb. 15, 1719...	June 1722
13. Captain George Shelvocke...	Plymouth	Feb. 15, 1719...	Aug. 1, 1722
14. Commodore Roggewein ...	The Texel	July 17, 1721...	July 11, 1723
15. Commodore Geo. Anson ...	St. Helens	Sept. 18, 1740...	June 15, 1744
16. Commodore Byron	The Downs	June 21, 1764...	May 9, 1766
17. Captain Samuel Wallis ...	Plymouth	Aug. 22, 1766...	May 19, 1768
18. Captain Philip Carteret ...	Plymouth	Aug. 22, 1766...	Feb. 20, 1769
19. Antoine de Bougainville ...	St. Malo.....	Nov. 15, 1766...	Mar. 16, 1769

tions of this, the greatest of navigators, are of so varied and vast a nature, and his hydrographical labours are so extended that we reserve a consideration of them for a separate chapter. To this distinguished seaman, who fell a victim to his sense of duty, humanity and eagerness in the advance of scientific research, may be applied the epitaph of the poet, Michael Drayton :

> 'And tho' no monument can claim
> To be the treasurer of thy name,
> This work, which ne'er will die, shall be
> An everlasting monument to thee.'

CHAPTER IX.

Captain James Cook—His Early Life—His first Voyage of Circumnavigation, and Explorations of New Zealand and Australia—The Voyage to the Antarctic Regions, and Discovery of New Caledonia, Georgia, and other Islands—Third and last Voyage—Discovery of the Sandwich Islands, and Exploration of the North-West Coast of America through Behring Straits to Icy Cape in 70° 44′ N. Lat.—Death of Captain Cook—Character and Memorials of Cook.

THE prince of all navigators and scientific nautical explorers was our countryman, Captain James Cook, whose 'Voyages' have been hailed by generations of English men, women, and children, as the most delightful of such works, and who has found many biographers, including the author of this work. That Cook's voyages have held so high a place in popular estimation, is due as much to the magnitude and importance of his discoveries as to the interests of the incidents he details, the graphic and accurate, yet simple, descriptions of the people and places he visited, and the sad fate that ultimately overtook him, which has cast around his name a halo of romantic interest as one of the martyrs of scientific exploration.

For the species of enterprise on which he was destined to be engaged, and in which he has earned such immortal renown, Cook was eminently qualified both by nature and the training he received. The earliest habits and tendencies of his life, the course of his

service, and his studies, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge which few officers had then, or have since attained. His frame and constitution were robust, inured to labour and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. When necessity required it, he could submit, uncomplainingly, to the coarsest and most unpalatable food ; and, indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue, so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy vigorous kind as those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicuous ; his judgment, especially in professional matters, quick and sure. His designs were bold, and both in the conception and the mode of execution, bore evident marks of original genius ; his courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected ; his temper, it was said, was open to blame on the score of hastiness and passion, but on the other hand, he was generous, benevolent, and humane.

Such was the outline of Captain Cook's character ; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was superior to the opposition of dangers, difficulties and hardships. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptations could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs. Some notice of the early career of this remarkable man

is necessary before entering upon a narrative of his discoveries.

James Cook was born in November 1728, at Maston, in Cleveland, near Great Ayton, in Yorkshire. He was of humble parentage, and when only two years of age, his father, who was day-labourer to a farmer, removed to Great Ayton, where he was employed in the same capacity by Mr. Thomas Scottowe. At first young Cook assisted his father in the different branches of husbandry, but at thirteen was placed under the care of Mr. Pullen, the village schoolmaster at Ayton, where he learned arithmetic and book-keeping, and is said to have displayed a remarkable aptitude for figures. About January, 1745, when James Cook was seventeen years of age, his father bound him apprentice to learn the grocery and haberdashery business at Snaith, about ten miles from Whitby. But the spirit of adventure was deeply planted in the heart of the future navigator, and after a servitude of a year and a half, he expressed his determination to go to sea. Young Cook had a soul above the counter, and his great spirit sickened at the drudgery of measuring out tapes and ribbons, or weighing groceries and sanded sugar—if adulteration was practised in those days in that primitive Yorkshire village. During his leisure hours he had read of Columbus and Magellan, and as he felt within himself the power to emulate their achievements, if a kind fate only gave him the opportunity, he resolved to embrace the noblest of all professions, and sail the salt seas in search of adventure and of the strange islands inhabited by still stranger men, which, according to the accounts of Dampier, Anson, and other sea-dogs of that type, existed in profusion in the yet unexplored waters of the Pacific. But James Cook was no romantic youth, or

visionary, like the sorcerer Sidrophel, who says to Hudibras, speaking of late events :

> 'Have we not lately, in the moon
> Found a New World, to th' Old unknown?
> Discover'd sea and land, Columbus
> And Magellan could never compass?'

Cook's master, seeing that his promising, but restless, apprentice could not be kept to the drudgery of the counter, agreed to cancel the indentures ; and accordingly, in July, 1746, the future circumnavigator was apprenticed to Mr. J. Walker, ship-owner, of Whitby, for the term of three years, which he served to the full satisfaction of his employer. He first sailed on board the *Freelove*, chiefly employed in the coal trade between Newcastle and London ; and in May, 1748, was employed in assisting to rig and fit out for sea the *Three Brothers*, a ship of 300 tons, thus acquiring that intimate knowledge of the rigger's art which forms so important an element in the education of a sailor. After performing two coaling voyages in this ship, she was chartered by the Government as a transport, and conveyed troops to Dublin, thence embarking other soldiers to Liverpool. Cook continued to serve in her in the Norway trade, until the expiration of his apprenticeship; and in the spring of 1750, we find him shipping as a seaman on board the *Maria*, under command of Captain Gaskin, in which he made some voyages to the Baltic.

In 1752, Mr. Walker, of Whitby, was glad to avail himself of Mr. Cook's services as mate of one of his ships, called the *Friendship*, and he gave so much satisfaction to the owner that, it is said, he was offered the post of master of the vessel, which, however, he

declined. Henceforth his services were devoted to his country.

In the spring of 1755, hostilities broke out between this country and France, and strenuous efforts were made to man the ships of war. As press-warrants had been issued, Mr. Cook, whose ship then lay in the Thames, afraid of being pressed, at first resolved to conceal himself; but afterwards, reflecting on the difficulties of so doing, he adopted the resolution of entering the Navy as a volunteer, 'having a mind,' as he expressed himself, 'to try his fortune that way.' In pursuance of this design, he repaired to a house of rendezvous in Wapping, and entered on board the *Eagle*, of sixty guns, at the time commanded by Captain Hamer; on the appointment, in the following October, of Captain (afterwards Sir Hugh) Palliser to the command of this ship, Cook's diligence and attention to the duties of his profession, although in the humble capacity of a foremast hand, attracted the notice of that discerning and intelligent commander, and he afforded him every encouragement. Cook's meritorious conduct also came to the ears of his friends in his native county, and representations were made to his captain by the member for Scarborough, which resulted in his being recommended for a master's warrant on board one of his Majesty's ships.

After some delay Cook was appointed master of the *Mercury*, and proceeded in her to North America, and was of signal service during the reduction of Quebec by the combined military and naval expedition under General Wolfe and Admiral Sir Charles Saunders; as is well known, the chief credit of that famous exploit fell to the lot of the sister service, which covered itself with glory, though at the sad cost of the loss of Wolfe,

whose death dimmed the lustre of even so great a victory.

At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to Cook's charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency, conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham, and examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. He was employed for several nights taking soundings opposite the French Camp at Montmorency, until at length he was discovered by the enemy, who sent a number of canoes filled with Indians to surround him, and he narrowly escaped capture by pulling for the Isle of Orleans, the Indians seizing the stern of his boat as he sprang ashore. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, and the admirable completeness of the plan of the channel and its soundings which he furnished to the admiral, gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and his successor, Lord Colville, who continued his zealous patrons during the remainder of their lives. After the conquest of Canada, Mr. Cook was appointed, on the 2nd September, 1759, master of the *Northumberland*, bearing the broad pennant of Lord Colville, which lay during the ensuing winter at Halifax. But Cook, whose chief anxiety was to rise in his profession, resolved to qualify himself for promotion and counteract the deficiencies of his early education by application to those sciences and branches of knowledge which are essential to success. Inspired by this noble ambition, instead of devoting his spare time to amusements, he was engaged in improving his mind. During the hard winter of 1759 he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy,

without any other assistance than was afforded him by a few books and his own industry. Soon after Cook was promoted to the rank of lieutenant.

In September, 1762, we find him assisting at the recapture of Newfoundland; and, subsequently, while the British fleet lay at Placentia, he was engaged surveying the heights and harbour, in order that they might be put into a state of defence, a task which he performed with such marked ability, as to attract the favourable notice of the Governor of Newfoundland, Captain (afterwards Admiral) Graves. Towards the close of the year, Lieutenant Cook returned to England, and on the 21st December, was married, at Barking, to Miss Batts, whose godfather he was said to have been, although, it should be added, there was only a difference of fourteen years in their ages. For the lady, by whom he had six children, he entertained a tender affection through life; but, like all great seamen, he placed the requirements of the public service before his personal predilections, and was ever ready at the call of duty to resign the solace of her society for years.

In 1763 Lieutenant Cook accompanied Captain Graves when he went out for the second time as Governor of Newfoundland, and he carried out a survey of its coasts as well as of the islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre, which had been ceded to this country by France in the treaty of peace. He then again returned to England, but early in the following year accompanied his former captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, who had been appointed Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador, and continued the prosecution of the surveys of those coasts and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Cook's charts were considered admirable and most trustworthy, while he did not confine his labours to marine surveying alone, but explored

the interior of Newfoundland. In 1765 he was with Sir William Burnaby on the Jamaica station, and was employed by the admiral in carrying despatches to the Governor of Yucatan, relative to the woodcutters in the Bay of Honduras, and a record of this mission, which he performed in an eminently satisfactory manner, was published in 1769. Returning to Newfoundland, he observed an eclipse of the sun on August 5th, 1766, an account of which appears in the seventh volume of the 'Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.'

Lieutenant Cook returned to England in 1767, when much interest was felt by the astronomical and scientific world, at the approaching transit of Venus over the sun's disc in 1769. Acting under the advice of Captain Wallis, who had just returned from his voyage round the world, it was decided that Tahiti, in the Society Islands, would be the most convenient spot for carrying out the observations; and, after some delay, Lieutenant Cook was selected to command the expedition, which was fitted out under the auspices of the Royal Society and the patronage of George III. and the Board of Admiralty, whose instructions to him embraced the prosecution of discoveries in those seas, which had been already partially explored by our countrymen, Captains Wallis, Carteret, and Byron. These officers, by their discoveries, had greatly contributed towards increasing our knowledge of the islands in Polynesia; but how far the Pacific Ocean extended to the west, by what lands it was bounded on that side, and the connection of those lands with former discoveries, remained unknown until Cook, on his return from his first voyage, brought back a solution of these points.

Lieutenant Cook sailed from Deptford on the 30th

July, 1768, in the *Endeavour*, a vessel of 370 tons, which had been built for the coal trade, but was now fitted with ten carriage and twelve swivel guns. He was also accompanied by Mr. Banks (afterwards Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society), who took with him two draughtsmen and Dr. Solander, a learned Swede, of the British Museum, who was an adept in natural history and philosophy. The complement of the *Endeavour* consisted of eighty-four persons, and she was victualled for eighteen months. Her principal officers were: Lieutenants Hicks (who died on the 23rd May, 1771) and Gore; Mr. Molineux, master, who died the 15th April, 1771, and was succeeded by Mr. Pickersgill; Mr. Charles Clerke, mate; and Mr. Monkhouse, surgeon, who died the 5th November, 1770.

Rounding Cape Horn, on the 10th April, 1769, they sighted Osnaburgh Island, called by the natives Maitea. Quiros, who first visited this island in 1606, named it Dezana, but Wallis, in 1767, gave it the name of Osnaburgh. On the following day, they made Tahiti, the principal of the Society Islands, which, since its discovery by Quiros, had only been visited by Captain Wallis, who called it 'George the Third's Island.' Having completed the primary object of his voyage, on the 13th July Cook sailed from Tahiti, and on the 7th October sighted New Zealand, discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, who called it Staten Land. The following day is memorable as that on which Lieutenant Cook landed in New Zealand, the pioneer of thousands of his countrymen who have made of these islands a second Britain. The spot on the east coast of the north island on which he landed, he called Poverty Bay. Lieutenant Cook explored the coasts of New Zealand

and named the chief bays and headlands. On the 17th December he was off the northern extremity of the islands, which he named North Cape, and on the 31st March, 1770, sailed for the coast of New Holland, from a bay in the Middle Island, which he named Admiralty Bay, and the two capes, Cape Stephens and Cape Jackson, after the two secretaries of the Board of Admiralty, while the cape from which he took his 'departure' (to use a nautical phrase) he called Cape Farewell.

The coast of New Zealand being now more accurately examined than it was by Tasman, who hastily left it after the massacre of a party of his men, was discovered to consist of two islands, which were before thought to be a part of the great Southern Continent said to exist in these latitudes. Besides discovering the insularity of New Zealand, Cook passed through the strait between the two main islands which received his name. On the 19th April the land of Australia was sighted, to the southernmost point of which he gave the name of Point Hicks, in compliment to the first lieutenant, who discovered it. Another remarkable point of land, distant about four leagues, Cook named Ram Head Point, from its resemblance to the promontory of the same name at the entrance of Plymouth Sound. In the evening at six o'clock, another point of land, which he named Cape Howe, was distant about two leagues. So he continued his examination of the eastern coast of Australia, giving to headlands, islands, and bays, names which they have since borne in the mouths of millions of Englishmen who have turned this vast island into a 'greater' Britain.

By his exploration of Australia and New Zealand, the Empire of England has been widely extended, and the

commerce of her colonies pours wealth into her lap. But England, in the race for riches, should guard against the corruption which wrecked the nations of antiquity, and not only Greece and Rome, but Spain and Portugal, which neglected the arts and arms in the pursuit of wealth. As Thomson says:

> 'However puff'd with power, and gorged with wealth,
> A nation be; let trade enormous rise,
> Let East and South their mingled treasure pour,
> Till, swell'd impetuous, the corrupting flood
> Burst o'er the city, and devour the land;
> Yet these neglected, these recording arts,
> Wealth rots, a nuisance; and, oblivious sunk,
> That nation must another Carthage lie.'

On the 6th June, 1770, the *Endeavour* was off the fine bay on the coast of what is now called Queensland, which Cook named Cleveland Bay, and on the 10th the ship ran on a reef, and nearly became a total wreck, off a point still known as Cape Tribulation. But she was providentially floated off, and the crew having warped her in shore to a spot where the tide left her high and dry, the leaks were stopped, and she was afloat again on the 5th July. Continuing his course to the northward, Cook named the York Islands, and the northernmost cape of the country, of which he took possession by the name of New South Wales, he called Cape York. Sailing through the strait north of Cape York, which he named after the *Endeavour*, he visited the island of Timor Laut and Batavia, and rounding the Cape of Good Hope, anchored in the Downs on the 12th June, 1771, after an absence of two years nine months and fourteen days.

The discoveries made by Lieutenant Cook in his first voyage, when he circumnavigated the globe, ascertained that New Zealand consisted of two islands by passing

through the straits named after him, and explored 2,000 miles of the coast line of Australia,* induced the government of George III. to project a second expedition, also to be under the command of Cook, who, on the 19th August, 1771, was advanced to the rank of commander. Accordingly, the Navy Board was ordered to equip two suitable ships for the service, and purchased the *Resolution* of 462 tons burden, and the *Adventure* of 336 tons.

One of the chief objects of this voyage was the discovery and exploration of the great Southern Continent of Quiros, and the existence of which found an ardent advocate in Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, of whom some notice is here necessary, as one of the most industrious hydrographers and compilers of voyages that this country has produced. Captain Burney, in compiling his own great work, describes as his *vade-mecum*, Dalrymple's works, 'An historical collection of the several voyages in the South Pacific Ocean,' and an account of the 'Spanish Discoveries before 1545.' Dalrymple says in the introduction to this work, dated October 7th, 1769, that from early life he was 'inflamed with the ambition to do something to promote the general benefit of mankind,' and 'the first and most striking object of research was the discovery of a Southern Continent. He entered the East India Company's service at Madras, and 'from an examination of the Company's records, and from the printed accounts of our early voyages,' was led to seek to revive and extend the Company's commerce with the eastern Islands. With this view, he says, 'in

* The northern, western and south-eastern coasts of Australia had been explored by Dutch navigators from Batavia, but it was not until the year 1798 that Bass, by sailing through the Straits called after him, made it apparent that Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, was an island.

the beginning of 1759, he declined a distinguished employment at Fort St. George, and had the direction of a small vessel of the Company's, intended for the service he had proposed. From that time till the end of 1764, he made several voyages in different vessels to the eastern parts, through seas unknown.'

On his return to England, 'he determined to make an historical collection of all the discoveries in the South Seas,' and this he was enabled to do from the fortunate circumstance of his having 'obtained a curious collection of Spanish memorials.' But Dalrymple entertained the idea, which amounted almost to a craze, of the existence of a Southern Continent. He says: 'The number of inhabitants in the Southern Continent is probably more than fifty millions, considering the extent; from the eastern part discovered by Juan Fernandez, to the western coast seen by Tasman, is about 100° of longitude, which in the latitude of 40° amounts to 4,596 geographic, or 5,323 statute miles. This is a greater extent than the whole civilised part of Asia, from Turkey to the eastern extremity of China.'

Dalrymple wished to have command of the expedition for the exploration of the southern hemisphere, but having no rank in the Royal Navy, it was entrusted to Captain Cook, towards whom Dalrymple unfortunately entertained feelings of jealousy. In 1776 he returned to Madras for a year as member of council, and in 1779 was appointed hydrographer to the East India Company. His industry was boundless, and he published no less than fifty-eight charts, 740 plans and fifty-seven views of coasts, besides fifty nautical memoirs. In 1795 he was appointed hydrographer to the Admiralty, but in 1808 was dismissed summarily by Lord Mulgrave,

which caused his death.* Major Rennel acknowledges the assistance he received from Dalrymple in the preparation of his great map of India, and St. Vincent was also greatly indebted for the maps and charts of his work, 'The Voyage of Nœarchus.'

On the 28th November, 1771, Captain Cook commissioned the *Resolution*, and Tobias Furneaux, who had been second lieutenant with Captain Wallis, was promoted to the command of the *Adventure*. The *Resolution* had 112 hands, officers included, and the *Adventure* eighty-one. The two ships were victualled with all manner of necessaries for a three years' voyage, and all the conveniences necessary for the preservation of health during that time were provided in abundance.

Cook's instructions required him 'to make the best of his way to the southward, in search of Cape Circumcision, which was reported by M. Bouvet to be in latitude 54° S., and in about 11° 20′ E. longitude from the meridian of Greenwich. That if he fell in with this cape, he was to endeavour by all the means in his power to discover whether the same was part of the supposed Southern Continent which had so much engaged the attention of different European powers, or only the promontory of an island; that in either case, he was to explore the same to the utmost extent possible, and make such observations as might be useful to either navigation or commerce. That he was to proceed on new discoveries to the eastward or westward as he might judge most eligible, endeavouring only to run

* Mr. Dalrymple's successor in the post of hydrographer to the East India Company was Captain Horsburgh, of their maritime service, who, in 1808, published the first edition of his celebrated 'East India Directory.' Between the years 1810 and 1836, the date of his death, all charts of Eastern sea were examined by him.

into as high a latitude, and as near the South Pole, as possible. That whatever might be the result of his investigations with respect to Cape Circumcision, he was to continue his surveys to the southward, and then to the eastward, either in search of the said Southern Continent, should it not have been ascertained, or to make discoveries of such islands as might be situated in the hitherto unexplored and unknown parts of the southern latitudes. That, having circumnavigated the globe, he was to return to Spithead by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and that to answer the intentions of government in this voyage as fully as possible, when the season of the year rendered it unsafe to continue in high latitudes, he was to repair to some known port to the northward, and after having refitted was to return again at the proper season to the southward in prosecution of new discoveries there.'

Commander Cook sailed with the *Resolution* and *Adventure* from Plymouth on the 13th July, 1772, and visiting Table Bay, whence he sailed on the 22nd November, crossed the Antarctic Circle on the 17th January, and advanced into the Polar Sea, where very severe weather was experienced. While searching for Cape Circumcision, on the 4th February, Commander Cook lost sight of the *Adventure*, in a thick fog, and after vainly trying to discover her, on the 17th March came to the resolution to quit the high southern latitudes and shape his course for New Zealand, to look for the *Adventure* and refresh his crew. During this cruise Captain Cook traversed the southern hemisphere, between the fortieth and sixty-seventh degrees of latitude, having sailed nearer to the South Pole than any previous navigator, and it was not until 1823, just fifty years later, that Captain Weddell

penetrated 214 miles further south. It was reserved, however, for the late Sir James Clark Ross, in his memorable voyage in 1841, with H.M. ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, the same that conveyed Franklin and his ill-fated officers and men on their last voyage, to prove the existence of an Antarctic continent, in 78° 4′, extending for a length of 450 miles.

On the 26th March, 1773, the *Resolution* entered Dusky Bay, in the south of the Middle Island, having been 117 days at sea, during which he had traversed 3,660 leagues without seeing land. Sailing on the 11th May, on the 18th Commander Cook arrived in the Murderer's Bay of Tasman, which he christened Queen Charlotte's Sound. Here he found at anchor the *Adventure*, which, after losing sight of the *Resolution*, had visited Tasmania. Captain Furneaux's account of his explorations is of interest, and his name has been given to an island in what is now known as Bass Straits, between Tasmania and Australia, but which he thought was a deep bay.

On the 7th June, the ships sailed from New Zealand towards Tahiti, but Captain Cook found that all hopes of discovering a Southern Continent were chimerical, as they had got to the northward of Captain Carteret's course, and only small islands were visible. On the 6th August they got on M. de Bougainville's tracks, and passed four islands supposed to be those called by him Dangerous Archipelago. The *Resolution* and *Adventure* anchored at Tahiti on the 17th August, and on the 3rd September arrived at Huaheine, another island of the Society Group. Proceeding thence to Ulietea, also one of the Society Islands, Captain Cook, having laid in a plentiful supply of provisions, quitted the group on the 17th September. Directing his course to the west, on the 23rd of the same month, he discovered

land to which he gave the name of Harvey's Island. On the 1st October he arrived off Middleburg, whence he sailed to Amsterdam, and to the group he gave the name of Friendly Islands. Cook landed and had an interview with the king, who, however, was too much absorbed in himself to reply to the greeting of the great navigator, but sat with such an expression of sullen and stolid gravity on his face, that his visitors took him for an idiot.

The day after leaving Amsterdam, Captain Cook passed Pylstart, and on the 21st October, was off New Zealand. Here he experienced much bad weather, during which he lost sight of the *Adventure*, which was not seen again during the remainder of the voyage. On the 3rd November the *Resolution* succeeded in putting in at Ship Cove in Queen Charlotte's Sound. The ship was now thoroughly refitted, and on the 26th of the month, Captain Cook sailed to the southward, inclining to the east, in search of that chimera, a Southern Continent. On the 12th December they first met with icebergs, which increased as they advanced to the southward ; on the 22nd they had reached 67° 5′ S. lat., when Captain Cook decided upon steering to the north-east. Christmas Day was spent with much the same surroundings as in the former year. On the 5th January, 1774, the *Resolution* was in about 50° S. lat., when Captain Cook once more directed his course to the southward, and on the 30th of the month, had reached the seventy-first degree of latitude. About this time Captain Cook fell seriously ill, and there being no fresh meat on board, the favourite dog of one of the officers was sacrificed to give strength to the distinguished sailor. As it became apparent that the ice in sight extended near to the pole, and that if there was land, it

lay far to the south, Captain Cook resolved to return to the tropics and explore between the fiftieth and sixtieth parallels of latitude in the following November. In this grand design, which displays the persistent perseverance and high sense of duty of this truly great man, the officers and seamen of the *Resolution*, who were ready to dare any hardships at the call of their commander, readily acquiesced.

On the 11th March they sighted Easter Island, or Davis Land, where Captain Cook landed, and on the 6th April were off the Marquesas, four islands, to one of which, being a discovery, the name of Hood was given, after the young officer who sighted it. The *Resolution* anchored in a bay in St. Christina Island, which received the name of the Ship. From the Marquesas Captain Cook steered for Tahiti, passing on the day a number of low islets, connected by reefs, in one of which, called Tiookea, discovered and visited by Commodore Byron, Lieutenant Cooper landed from the *Resolution*. Proceeding in his course they sighted the St. George's Islands, so named by Commodore Byron, and discovered a group of four islands, which Captain Cook called after his friend and first patron, Sir Hugh Palliser.

On the 22nd April the *Resolution* anchored in Matavia Bay, in Tahiti, whence in May she proceeded to Huaheine and Ulietea, where an abundant supply of fresh provisions was laid in. On the 5th June, they quitted the Society Islands, and on the following day passed the Howe Island of Captain Wallis. On the 16th they discovered another reef island, which was named after Lord Palmerston; on landing here Captain Cook had a narrow escape of his life, a native having hurled a spear at him within five paces.

On the 26th June, the *Resolution* anchored at Amsterdam, which, together with Middleburg and Pylstart, were discovered by Tasman, and are now known as the Friendly Islands, a name given them by Captain Cook.

Pursuing his course to the west, a small island was discovered on the 1st July, which was called after the turtles found there in great abundance; and on the 16th high land was sighted, which was supposed to be the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros.

After exploring the coast, Captain Cook came to an anchor in a harbour in the island of Mallicollo (or Malicolo), which he called after Lord Sandwich. Here Captain Cook again had a narrow escape of his life, and his disregard of personal safety foreshadowed the tragic end that befell him a few years later. The *Resolution* sailed on the 23rd July, and several small islands were sighted, to a group of which Cook gave the name of Dr. Shepherd, Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge. Sailing to the southward, a large island was sighted which he called after his noble patron Lord Sandwich, and to the two principal of some smaller ones, he gave the names of Montagu and Hinchinbrook. Pursuing his discoveries he came to a large island called by the natives Erromango, along which he coasted for three days, when he anchored in a bay on the 3rd August. Here Captain Cook came into collision with the natives, who were very treacherous, and in consequence he called the promontory Traitors' Head. Thence he sailed for an island called by the inhabitants Tanna, where was a volcano. On the 20th August Captain Cook sailed from Tanna, and employed the remainder of the month in a further examination of the neighbouring islands.

He had now finished his survey of the Archi-

pelago, the southern islands of which were first discovered by Quiros, who considered them part of the Southern Continent. M. de Bougainville was the next person by whom they were visited in 1768; but besides landing in the isle of Lepers, he only made the discovery that the country was not connected, but composed of islands which he called the Great Cyclades. Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the situation and extent of these islands, discovered others and explored the whole. He thought, therefore, that he had obtained a right to name them, and he accordingly bestowed upon them the appellation of the New Hebrides.

The season of the year now rendered it necessary for Cook to return to the south, while he had yet some time to explore any land he might meet with between the New Hebrides and New Zealand, which he proposed to visit in order that he might refresh his people and renew his stock of wood and water for another southern cruise.

With this view he sailed on the 1st September, and on the 4th land was discovered, in a harbour of which the *Resolution* came to an anchor the next day. The design of Captain Cook was not only to visit the country, but to have an opportunity of observing an eclipse of the sun which was soon to happen. An intercourse immediately commenced with the inhabitants, who were very friendly. Before leaving, Cook cut an inscription on a large tree, setting forth the name of the ship, the date of the year, and other circumstances, in order to testify that the English were the first discoverers of the country, a course he had adopted wherever it had seemed necessary. What the island was called by the natives Captain Cook could not learn, and therefore he gave it the name of New Caledonia.

Everything being ready to put to sea, Captain Cook weighed anchor on the 13th September, with the purpose of examining the coast of New Caledonia. In pursuing this object, the *Resolution* was more than once in danger of being lost, and on the night of the 28th of the month, she had a narrow escape. 'We owed our safety,' says the captain, 'to the interposition of Providence, a good look-out, and the very brisk manner in which the ship was managed.' After this incident, taking into consideration the vast ocean he had to explore to the south, the state and condition of the ship, the near approach of summer, and that any material accident might detain him in this sea even for another year, he resolved to lose no more time in surveying the shores of New Caledonia. But though he was thus obliged by necessity, for the first time, to leave a coast which he had discovered before it was even cursorily surveyed, he did not quit it till he had ascertained the extent of the country, and proved that, excepting New Zealand, it was perhaps the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean.

As the *Resolution* pursued her course from New Caledonia, land was discovered which Captain Cook named Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. Thence he steered for New Zealand, and on the 18th October anchored before Ship Cove in Queen Charlotte's Sound. On landing, he looked for the bottle he had left on shore, in which was a memorandum, but it had been taken away; and from other indubitable evidence, he came to the conclusion that the *Adventure* had been in the cove after it was quitted by the *Resolution*. Having refitted and taken in an ample supply of stores, on the 10th November Captain Cook took his departure from New Zealand in further pursuit of his great object,

the determination of the existence of a southern continent; but the quest was vain. Sailing till the 27th in different degrees of latitude, extending from 43° to 55° 48′ S. lat., he gave up all hopes of finding any more land in this ocean. He came, therefore, to the resolution of steering directly for the west entrance of the Straits of Magellan, with a view of coasting the south side of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn, to the Strait le Maire.

On the 17th December the *Resolution* reached the west coast of Terra del Fuego, and, having continued to range it till the 20th, came to an anchor in a place to which was given the name of Christmas Sound. On the 28th December, Captain Cook sailed from Christmas Sound, on his voyage round Cape Horn, through Strait le Maire, to Staten Land. This famous Cape was passed on the next day, when the *Resolution* entered the Southern Atlantic Ocean. In Staten Island a good port was found, which, on account of the day on which the discovery was made (the 1st of January), received the name of New Year's Harbour. Captain Cook sailed from Staten Island on the 4th January, with a view, in the first place, of discovering that extensive coast laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in his chart; but when he came to the situation assigned to the different points of the Gulf of St. Sebastian, no land was found. Proceeding on his voyage, land was seen on the 14th, which, from the person by whom it was discovered, obtained the name of Wallis's Island.

Another island of a larger compass, on account of the vast number of birds which were upon it, was called Bird Isle. A more extensive range of country had been seen for some time, which Captain Cook reached on the 17th, when he landed on the same day in three different

places; at one spot, which he called Possession Bay, Captain Cook hoisted the English colours, and under a discharge of small arms, took possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, after whom he called it the Isle of Georgia.*

On the 25th of the month he quitted the Isle of Georgia, and, on the 27th, computed that he was in latitude 60° South. On an elevated coast, which appeared in sight upon the 31st, he bestowed the appellation of the Southern Thule. To other tracts of country, which were discovered between the 31st January and the 6th February, Captain Cook gave the names of Cape Bristol, and Cape Montagu, Sander's Isle, Candlemas Isles, and Sandwich's Land. On the 22nd February, as they were within two degrees of longitude from their route to the south when they left the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Cook thought it was of no use proceeding any further to the east under this parallel, as they knew that no land could be there. They had now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and put out of question the existence of a continent, in Captain Cook's opinion, unless near

* The size and situation of this land, discovered by Captain Cook, coincide with the island of San Pedro, seen and described by M. Duclos Guyot, in his account of the voyage of the Spanish ship *Leon*, which sailed from Cadiz on the 14th December, 1753. Having disposed of her cargo at Valparaiso and Callao, where she lay sixteen months, on the 30th April, 1756, the *Leon*, freighted with a valuable consignment of goods, sailed from Valparaiso, and on the 29th June, says Guyot, 'we beheld a continent of land extending about twenty-five leagues in length.' Captain Cook, who places this land in from 54° to 55° S. lat. and in 36° to 38½° W. long., was much disappointed at the forbidding appearance of this substitute for the Southern Continent of which he was in search, and says: 'My disappointment at this land not proving part of the Southern Continent did not greatly affect me, for to judge of the bulk by the sample it would not be worth the discovery.

the Pole, where the late Sir James Ross found it, in 78° 4′. By twice visiting the tropical seas they had not only settled the situation of some old discoveries, but made many new ones, and thus the intention of the voyage was in every respect fully answered.

Other circumstances pointed to the necessity of a return to England. The sails and rigging of the *Resolution* were greatly worn, and there was nothing left either to repair or replace them. The provisions were in a state of decay, and yielded little nourishment, and they had been a long time without fresh food. The sailors, indeed, were still healthy, and would have cheerfully gone wherever they were led; but Captain Cook would not put the brave fellows needlessly in peril of the scurvy and other diseases incidental to long confinement on ship-board, and accordingly bore up for the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 22nd March the *Resolution* anchored in Table Bay, and Captain Cook received a letter left by Captain Furneaux, who had called here on his way home, acquainting him with the loss of a boat and of ten of his best men in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Afterwards, on his arrival in England, he put into Captain Cook's hand a complete narrative of his proceedings from the time of their second and final separation in October, 1773, when the *Adventure* was blown off the coast of New Zealand, and parted company with the *Resolution*.

By this it appears the *Adventure* encountered violent storms till the 8th November, when, being to the north of Cape Palliser, they bore away for some bay to complete their water and wood, each man having been placed on an allowance of one quart of water for some days past, and the supply at that rate was only sufficient for six or seven days longer. They anchored at Tolaga Bay, where

wood and water were easily obtained. On the 12th November they sailed for Queen Charlotte's Sound, when the catastrophe referred to took place. Quitting New Zealand on the 23rd November, on the 10th January, 1774, they arrived abreast of Cape Horn. They were little more than a month sailing from Cape Palliser, in New Zealand, to Cape Horn, a distance of 121° of longitude. On the 17th February they made the land off the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 19th anchored in Table Bay, where they found Commodore Sir Edward Hughes, with his Majesty's ships *Salisbury* and *Sea Horse*. On the 16th April, Captain Furneaux sailed for England, and on the 14th July anchored at Spithead.

Captain Cook having received the necessary supplies of water and stores, sailed on the 26th April, and visiting St. Helena, Ascension, Fernando de Noronha (off the coast of Brazil) and Fayal, one of the Azores, on the 30th July anchored at Spithead. During her absence from England of three years and eighteen days, and under all changes of climate, the *Resolution* lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness, an immunity which may be attributed to Captain Cook's care of his men, and his adoption for the first time of the anti-scorbutic treatment, by the employment of lime-juice. On this point Cook writes as follows, in concluding the narrative of this famous voyage: 'It doth not become me to say how far the principal objects of our voyage have been attained. Had we found out a continent there, we might have been better enabled to gratify curiosity; but we hope our not having found it, after all our persevering researches, will leave less room for future speculation about unknown worlds remaining to be explored. Whatever may be the public judgment about

other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health among a numerous ship's company for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person when the dispute about a southern continent shall have ceased to occupy the attention and to divide the judgment of philosophers.'

We have seen how Captain Cook, in his first voyage, returned home by the Cape of Good Hope in July, 1771, and again how this experienced navigator performed his second voyage in the *Resolution*, which sailed from England in July, 1772, and returned on the 30th of the same month in 1775. During these voyages the several lands of which any account had been given by the Spaniards or Dutch, were carefully searched for, and most of them found, visited, and accurately surveyed. The Terra Australia del Espiritu Santo, which Quiros regarded as part of a southern continent, was circumnavigated by Captain Cook, who assigned to it its true position and extent. Bougainville, in 1768, did no more than discover that the land here was not connected; but Captain Cook explored the whole group now known as the New Hebrides. Byron, Wallis, and Carteret had each of them contributed towards increasing a knowledge of the archipelagoes of islands that exist in the Pacific Ocean within the limits of the southern tropic; but how far that ocean reached to the west, what lands bounded it on that side, and the connection of those lands with the discoveries of former navigators, remained

absolutely unknown till Captain Cook decided the question, and brought home ample accounts of them and their inhabitants. It had been hitherto a favourite conjecture among geographers that New Zealand was a part of the Southern Continent, but Captain Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour* proved the fallacy of this hypothesis, for he spent nearly six months upon its coasts, circumnavigated it completely, and ascertained its extent and division into two main islands. Whether New Holland, as Australia was then called, did or did not join New Guinea was another question which Captain Cook decided by sailing between them through Endeavour Strait. He therefore, in this part of his voyage, established a fact of essential service to navigation by opening, if not a new, at least an unfrequented and forgotten communication between the Southern Pacific and Indian Oceans.

But something was still wanting to complete the great plan of discovery. The accessible extremities of the southern hemisphere had been visited and surveyed, yet great varieties of opinion prevailed concerning the navigable boundaries of the northern hemisphere, particularly as to the existence, or at least the practicability, of a passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, either by sailing eastward round Asia, or westward round North America. It was considered that such a passage, if it existed, would tend to shorten and facilitate communication with the East, and it was thought that the route known as the North-east Passage afforded the most practicable way of effecting a successful result. When the Government expressed their determination to explore this North-east Passage, Captain Cook, who had been promoted to post rank on the 9th August, 1775, ten days after his arrival in England,

cheerfully relinquished a comfortable post to which he had been appointed in Greenwich Hospital, and, in a letter to the Admiralty, dated 10th February, 1776, placed his services at the disposal of the Government.

Captain Cook had well earned his repose, but his was not one of those natures which could rest on its laurels while opportunity offered for adding to them. Cook's was one of those adventurous spirits to whom rest was insufferable, and though he had on many occasions nearly sacrificed his life owing to a constitutional disregard for his personal safety, danger and death itself were preferable to the prospect of being shelved, and ending his days in ignoble ease :

> 'Let him who crawls enamour'd of decay,
> Cling to his couch, and sicken years away;
> Heave his thick breath, and shake his palsied head;
> Ours—the free turf, and not the feverish bed.
> While, gasp by gasp, he falters forth his soul,
> Ours with one pang, one bound, escapes control.'

He had passed his life on the 'heaving wave,' whose every mood was familiar to him, and were he to find a sailor's sepulchre in its ample bosom, or meet death at the hand of a South Sea savage while seeking to place within his reach the advantages of civilisation, and add to the domains of knowledge—why then, to a man of his temperament and devotion to science, his would be—

> 'The tears, though few, sincerely shed,
> When Ocean shrouds and sepulchres our dead.'

The Admiralty eagerly accepted the offer of Captain Cook to conduct the projected expedition, and on the 14th February, 1776, H.M.'s ships *Resolution* and *Discovery* were commissioned, the latter, a vessel of 300

tons burden, being placed under the command of Commander Clerke, who had served with Captain Cook as a lieutenant on board the *Resolution* in his second voyage round the world.

By his instructions, which were very lengthy, Captain Cook was directed to proceed to Tahiti, and thence to the west coast of America in 45° N. lat.; he was then 'to proceed northward along the coast as far as the latitude of 65°, or farther, if you are not obstructed by lands or ice; taking care not to lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until you get in the before-mentioned latitude of 65°, where we could wish you to arrive in the month of June next. When you get that length, you are very carefully to search for and explore such rivers or inlets as may appear of considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays; and if, from your own observations, or from information from the natives, there shall appear to be a certainty, or even a probability, of a water passage into the afore-mentioned bays, or either of them, you are, in such case, to use your utmost endeavours to pass through with one or both of the sloops.

* * * * * *

But should you be satisfied that there is no passage through the bays, sufficient for the purposes of navigation, you are, at the proper season of the year, to repair to the port of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, or wherever you shall judge more proper, in order to refresh your people and pass the winter; and in the spring of the ensuing year, 1778, to proceed from thence to the northward, as far as in your prudence you may think proper, in further search of a north-east or north-west passage from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic,

or North Sea, and having discovered such a passage, or failed in the attempt, make the best of your way back to England.'

Captain Cook sailed with his two ships, having on board 192 officers and men, among the former being Lieutenants Gore, King, Williamson, and Phillips (of the marines), in the *Resolution*, and Lieutenants Burney and Rickman in the *Discovery*. Two other officers destined to fame sailed on this eventful voyage, Mr. William Bligh, master of the *Resolution*, who commanded the *Bounty* at the time of the mutiny, and Mr. Vancouver, midshipman of the *Discovery*, who gave his name to the island on the west coast of America which he explored.

The ships sailed on the 14th July, 1776, and visiting the Cape of Good Hope, stood across the Southern Indian Ocean. On the 12th December, two islands were sighted, through which the ships passed. These islands, and four others from 9° to 12° to the east, and nearly in the same latitude, had been discovered by Captains Marion du Fresne and Crozet, French navigators, in January 1772, on their passage in two ships from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Islands. As no names had been assigned to them in a chart of the Southern Ocean, which Captain Crozet communicated to Cook in 1775, he distinguished the two larger ones by calling them Prince Edward's Islands, after his Majesty's fourth son. To the other four, with the view of commemorating the discoverers, he gave the names of Marion's and Crozet's Islands. Steering somewhat to the southward, Captain Cook visited Kerguelen Land, so called after M. de Kerguelen, who, however, had named it the island of Rendezvous. According to his instructions, Captain Cook examined the coast for a

good harbour, and discovered one on the 25th December, which he called Christmas Harbour.

Quitting this desolate island on the 31st December, the ships anchored in Adventure Bay, in Tasmania, where Captain Furneaux's ship in the former voyage had touched. A stay of only four days was made at this island, and on the 12th February they came to an anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand. Here they remained until the 25th of the month, when they put to sea, and visited some small islands, including Harvey and Palmerston Islands, discovered by him, and the Friendly Isles, where they stayed two or three months, during which much information regarding the inhabitants and productions of the country was acquired.

Leaving the group on the 17th July, Captain Cook reached Tahiti on the 12th August, three years having elapsed since he quitted the island. The ships then visited Eimeo, Huaheine, and Ulietea, others of the Society Islands, whence they finally sailed on the 8th December. On the 24th, a low island was discovered, to which Captain Cook gave the name of Christmas Island; here he and some of his officers landed to observe an eclipse of the sun, and on the 2nd January, 1778, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* resumed their course to the northward. The 18th of this month will be memorable in the annals of maritime exploration, as that on which the group known as the Sandwich Islands was first sighted, on one of which the great discoverer was destined to lose his life. The name Sandwich was given by Captain Cook to the five islands which he at this time examined, after his patron, whom he seemed as though he could not sufficiently honour.

On the 2nd February, Captain Cook pursued his

course to the northward, and on the 7th March sighted New Albion, as this part of the American coast was called, in 44° 33′ N. lat. Coasting along, Captain Cook named several headlands on a coast which had never before been visited by a European, except in parts by Russian traders. On the 29th March, the ships came to an anchor in an inlet of what is now known as Vancouver's Island, where they were visited by the natives, who traded freely. This inlet, called Nootka by the inhabitants, by which name it is still known, was christened King George's Sound by Captain Cook. Having completed the necessary refit, the ships sailed on the 26th April, in search of the Straits of Anian, which it was supposed led into the Arctic Sea to the north, or Hudson's Bay to the east.

On the 1st May they came to a headland, which Captain Cook called Mount Edgecumbe; on the 9th he named a high-peaked mountain, Mount Fair Weather, and the inlet at its base he called Cross Sound; and on the 10th, he named a promontory Cape Suckling. The first place at which Captain Cook landed after leaving Nootka Sound was an island, in 50° 94′, which he called after his friend, the Rev. Dr. Kaye, Dean of Lincoln. On the following day, the 12th May, the ships anchored in an inlet he called Prince William's Sound, while a large island he named Montagu, and some smaller ones, Green Islands. Continuing their course, they passed a lofty promontory which, as it was discovered on her birthday, was called after the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of George III. Other capes Captain Cook named Point Banks, and Cape Douglas, after the Canon of Windsor, and a high mountain in a chain he named Mount St. Augustin.

A few days later they came to a great arm of the sea,

which promised to be the long-looked-for Straits of Anian; but after tracing it for a distance of seventy leagues, it was found to be a Sound ending in a river which was called Turnagain. On the 1st June the adjacent country was taken possession of in the name of the King of England, with all formality; and as the great navigator had left a blank in his chart of this place, Lord Sandwich directed that it should be known as Cook's river.*

Proceeding on their voyage on the 19th June, while sailing amidst the group called by Behring, Schumagin's Islands, Captain Clerke received from some natives, who followed his ship in a canoe, a wooden box, in which was a piece of paper with writing supposed to be in the Russian character, and having the date 1778. On the 27th June the ships anchored at the island of Oonalashka, where they remained until the 2nd July. Off a promontory which was called Cape Newenham, they sustained a great loss in the death of Dr. Anderson, the surgeon of the *Resolution*, an officer of great scientific attainments. On the 9th July they came to an anchor under a point of land, to which, as being the most westerly extremity of America, Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Prince of Wales. Crossing over on the following day to the Asiatic coast (only thirteen leagues distant), the great navigator had the glory of ascertaining the vicinity of the two continents, which had only been conjectured before, though Behring had sailed through the straits named after him in 1728, and of placing beyond a doubt that the island of Alaska in Stœhlin's map was part of the continent of America.

Returning again to the American Continent, Captain

* This inlet was further explored, in 1794, by Captain Vancouver, who was a midshipman on board the *Resolution*.

Cook continued his course to the northward amid fields of floating ice, and passing a headland he called Cape Lisburne, on the 18th August attained his farthest point, 70° 44′; and it was not until the year 1826 that Captain Beechey and Lieutenant Belcher, in H.M.'s ship *Blossom*, rounded the headland on the American coast in 70° 29′, to which Cook gave the name of Icy Cape. Thus it may be said of James Cook as Byron wrote of another seaman:

> 'His name was added to the glorious roll,
> Of those who search the storm-surrounded Pole.'

Captain Cook steered to the west, and on the 29th August was off the headland on the Asiatic coast, in 68° 56′ N. lat. and 180° 51′ E. long., known as Cape North, a point which no British sailor passed until Captain Kellett, in the year 1849, visited the islands to the northward which he called after H.M.'s ships *Plover* and *Herald*. The season being so far advanced, Captain Cook did not deem it prudent to proceed further to the westward, but fixing the position of Clerke Island, now known as St. Lawrence, midway between the two continents, named Cape Denbigh and other points on the American coast, and explored an inlet which he called after Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons.

On the 3rd October they anchored in Samganoodha harbour in Oonalashka Island, where they met some Russians; and on the 26th sailed for the Sandwich Islands, Captain Cook's intention being to visit Kamtschatka in May of the following year. Mawee, one of the group which had not hitherto been visited, was sighted on the 26th November, and four days later Captain Cook came to the island called by the natives

Owhyhee (or Hawaii as we now call it), and as it appeared of greater extent* than the others, he spent seven weeks in sailing round and examining its coast. Wherever the ships touched during these explorations, they were received by the natives here in a more friendly manner than at Tahiti, and the utmost confidence was inspired in the breasts of the British officers and seamen. But they were soon to learn the treacherous character of these islanders by an event which is one of the most lamentable in the annals of nautical discovery.

On the 26th January, 1779, the ships put into Karakakooa Bay, on the west side, where they were received with every manifestation of joy by the people, who swam round the ships like shoals of fish. As they watched the animated scene, few of the beholders probably regretted the want of success which had attended their endeavours to return homeward the previous summer by a northern passage. 'To this disappointment,' says Captain Cook—and the words have a melancholy interest as the last he penned—' we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed in many respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.'

Captain Cook, having refitted the ships, sailed out of Karakakooa Bay on the 4th February, with the intention of completing the survey of the islands; but the *Resolution* having sprung her foremast, he returned to the bay for the purpose of procuring a new spar. An observatory was set up for astronomical observations so as to utilise the time, and all went well till the 13th February,

* The superficial area of Hawaii is 4000 square miles, and that of the other smaller islands of the Sandwich group is only 2000.

when the natives displayed hostility in driving away the sailors who were employed filling the water-casks. They also committed some thefts, and on the seizure of a canoe belonging to Pareea, a chief of note, who had been visiting the *Discovery*, a scuffle ensued between the islanders and the crew of the pinnace, in which Pareea, who used his endeavours to check his followers, received a severe blow on the head with an oar.

During the night the natives stole a cutter, on which Captain Cook, who began to apprehend that trouble was in store and determined to act with decision, gave orders that all canoes attempting to leave the bay should be stopped, and himself proceeded on shore in the pinnace, with nine marines under Lieutenant Phillips, and a boat under Lieutenant King. On the way Captain Cook called off the launch, which had been stationed with one other boat to intercept the canoes, and proceeded towards Kowrowa, the village in which the king, Terreeaboo, resided. An interview soon convinced Captain Cook that the king knew nothing of the robbery of the cutter, and he asked his sable majesty to accompany him on board the *Resolution* with his two sons who were frequently his guests. The king at first consented, but displayed indecision and terror on seeing the threatening attitude assumed by his subjects, who collected to the number of about 3000 along the shore. Captain Cook, recognising the critical condition of affairs, at length desisted from persuading Terreeaboo, and proceeded towards the boat, accompanied by his guard of marines. All might yet have ended without the fatal catastrophe which renders the 14th February, 1779, a black-letter day in the annals of discovery, but that, in the meantime, a chief had been killed by the fire from a boat stationed to prevent the canoes leaving the bay.

Upon hearing this news the natives armed themselves with spears and stones, and put on their war-mats.

One of the islanders, having in his hands a stone and a large iron spike, which they called a *pahooa*, came up to Captain Cook, flourishing his weapon by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist, but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small-shot; but as the mat preserved him from injury, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage his followers. A shower of stones was now thrown at the marines, and one of the natives attempted to stab Lieutenant Phillips with his pahooa, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt-end of his musket. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the seamen in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of everyone, stood this fire with great firmness, and, before the marines had time to reload, broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant Phillips, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a pahooa, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat the blow. As for Captain Cook, the last time he was seen distinctly he was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing and to pull in. Whilst he faced the natives none

of them had offered him any violence, but when he turned about to give orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore and surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his death.

Lieutenant King, who survived to return to England, and continued the narrative of the expedition after the death of Captain Cook, adds, in his report to the Admiralty, to which we are indebted for this account: 'Thus fell our great and excellent commander! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature, since he lived to finish the great work for which he seemed to have been designed; and was rather removed from the enjoyment than cut off from the acquisition of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation under their hardships in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity.'

Mr. Samwell, surgeon of the *Discovery*, describes in greater detail the death of Captain Cook: 'He was observed,' he says, 'making for the pinnace, holding his left hand against the back of his head to guard it from the stones, and carrying his musket under the other arm. An Indian was seen following him, but with caution and timidity; for he stopped once or twice, as if undetermined to proceed. At last he advanced upon him unawares,

and, with a large club or common stake, gave him a blow on the back of the head, and then precipitately retreated. The stroke seemed to have stunned Captain Cook; he staggered a few paces, then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musket. As he was rising, and before he could recover his feet, another Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron dagger. He then fell into a pool of water, about knee-deep, where others crowded upon him and endeavoured to keep him under; but struggling very strongly with them he got his head up, and casting his look towards the pinnace, seemed to solicit assistance. Though the boat was not above five or six yards distant from him, yet, from the crowded and confused state of the crew, it seems it was not in their power to save him. The Indians got him under again, but in deeper water; he was, however, able to get his head up once more, but being almost spent in the struggle he naturally turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to support himself by it when a savage gave him a blow with a club, and he was seen alive no more. They hauled him lifeless on the rocks, when they seemed to take a savage pleasure in using every barbarity to his dead body, snatching the daggers out of each other's hands to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage.'

Thus died, in the fifty-first year of his age, this great navigator and humane benefactor, for such he was, as throughout his dealings with the natives of New Zealand and the South Sea Islands, he not only treated them with consideration but sought to better their condition by putting on shore pigs, sheep, and goats—a supply of which he brought from England, and the Cape, with the object of stocking the islands so as to increase the food-supply of the inhabitants.

The boats left the shore without recovering the body of Captain Cook, which, as well as the bodies of the four marines, was carried away by the natives to the rising ground at the back of the town, and though, during the stay of the British ships at the island, every endeavour was made to recover his remains, only a portion of the bones were given up. These were placed in a coffin and committed to the deep on the 21st February, with the usual naval honours.

Captain Clerke now succeeded to the command of the *Resolution*, and Lieutenant Gore was appointed to the *Discovery*. In accordance with the instructions of Captain Cook, the ships proceeded to Petropaulovski, in Kamtschatka, where they received great hospitality from the Russians. Thence they passed through Behring's Straits, but, owing to the ice, were unable to penetrate further north than 70° 33′, which was some leagues short of the point Captain Cook had attained in the preceding year. On the 31st July they repassed Behring's Straits, and on the 24th August anchored in the harbour of Petropaulovski. Two days before this Captain Clerke* died of consumption, from which disease he had long been suffering, at the age of thirty-eight, upon which Captain Gore took command of the *Resolution*, and Lieutenant King,† as next senior officer, of the *Discovery*.

On the 9th October the ships finally sailed, and sight-

* Captain Clerke was a most distinguished navigator, having served as midshipman of the *Dolphin* under Commodore Byron on his first voyage round the world, and, in 1768, as master's mate of the *Endeavour*, returning with the rank of lieutenant. His third voyage of circumnavigation was performed as second lieutenant of the *Resolution*, again under Captain Cook; and, in 1775, he received promotion to the rank of commander, and was appointed to the *Discovery* on the voyage which proved fatal to himself and his great leader.

† This gallant officer died in 1784, within four years of his return to England, from the effects of climate.

ing Japan, and visiting Macao, Simon's Bay, and Stromness, in the Orkney Islands, on the 1st October, 1780, cast anchor in the Downs, after an absence of four years, two months and twenty-two days.

King George III. was not forgetful of the services of his great subject, whose discoveries shed no less glory on his reign than the victories by sea and land which we Englishmen regard with so much pride and satisfaction. He settled a pension of £25 per annum on each of the three surviving sons of the great circumnavigator, and a pension of £200 a year on the widow.*

Memorials of a humble description were erected to the great navigator on the scene of his death by the officers and men of H.M.'s ships *Carysfort*, *Cormorant*, *Sparrow Hawk*, *Imogene* and *Blonde*, which, at different times during the present century, visited Hawaii; but it was

* This lady had soon cause to deplore the loss, in their country's service, of others only less dear to her than her gallant husband. In October, 1780, the month when, by the return of the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, Mrs. Cook was first made aware of the loss she had sustained, her second son, Nathaniel, sixteen years of age, was lost on board the *Thunderer*, man-of-war, which foundered in a gale of wind. The youngest son, Hugh, a student of Christ's College, Cambridge, died of fever, at the early age of seventeen, on the 21st December, 1793; and, on the 25th January in the following year, the eldest son, aged thirty-one, who bore his father's name, and commanded the *Spitfire*, sloop-of-war, was driven to sea while attempting to board his ship off Poole in a heavy gale, and perished, together with the boat's crew. His body was afterwards recovered and conveyed to Spithead on board his own ship, whence it was removed to Cambridge, and buried by the side of his youngest brother, whose funeral he had attended only six weeks before. Mrs. Cook was herself brought to the brink of the grave by these accumulated bereavements, but she recovered her health and lived to the age of ninety-three, having survived her husband fifty-six years. She died on the 13th May, 1835, at her residence at Clapham, and was buried in the middle aisle of St. Andrew's the Great, Cambridge, by the side of her two sons, within the communion rail of which is a tablet having an appropriate inscription to the memory of Captain Cook.

not until November, 1874, that one worthy his great fame and the honour he shed upon his own service and his country by his achievements, was placed in the spot in Karakakooa Bay where he fell. The monument is a plain obelisk standing on a square base, the whole being twenty-seven feet in height, and constructed throughout of concrete. It stands on a platform of lava, only a few feet distant from and above high-water mark, and fifteen or twenty yards from the stone or lava slab beside which Captain Cook was killed. The site was the gift of the native Princess Likelike, and the expense of erection was mostly borne by subscribers in England, chiefly naval officers, and Lady Franklin, who it was natural should feel a peculiar interest in one who, like her great husband, at the call of duty left a competence, a loving wife and admiring friends, to perish in the prosecution of nautical exploration. On the seaward base of the obelisk is deeply cut the following inscription :

In Memory of the Great Circumnavigator
CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, R.N.,
Who discovered these Islands on the 18th January, 1778,
And fell near this spot on the 14th February, 1779.
This Monument was erected in November, A.D. 1874,
By some of his fellow-countrymen.

A noble statue of Captain Cook, of heroic size, by Foley, has recently been placed in Sydney, in New South Wales, and his admirers in England had the gratification of inspecting it before it was sent over to the metropolis of Australia, the coasts of which he explored for a distance of 2000 miles. But no monument is needed to the fame of the discoverer of the Sandwich group, of New Caledonia, of Georgia and other inferior islands ; the explorer of the unknown coasts of New

Zealand, of Australia, and of the west coast of America as far as Icy Cape, and of Asia to Cape North.

There are few more interesting or eventful stories than that of the career of Captain Cook from the plough-tail to the proud position he has attained on the scroll of fame. Even among the men of his generation—a time distinguished as the age of nautical exploration—Captain Cook is the acknowledged *facile princeps* of navigators, and the fine sentiment of Bacon might be especially applied to him: 'Death openeth the gate to good fame and extinguisheth envy.'

Among the three greatest names in three different ages of our history were those of seamen—Raleigh, Cook, and Nelson. The ascendency of the last was unchallenged in his lifetime, and he remains the favourite national hero; the genius of Raleigh is overshadowed by that of the poet who 'was not for an age but for all time;' while the reputation of Cook can never be eclipsed, as it is of that nature that time, instead of diminishing, can only increase its lustre. Poets may arise, for the future is its own arbiter, rivalling the genius of the author of 'Hamlet;' heroes may be born to expire amid the glories of a second Trafalgar and the prayers and tears of a nation, but the age of the discovery of new islands and the exploration of thousands of miles of the coast-line of unvisited continents can never return. Cook must ever bear the honourable title of 'Orbis investigator acerrimus.'

CHAPTER X.

Russian Navigators in the Siberian Sea—Voyages of Deshnief and Staduchin—The Three Voyages of Behring—Passage of the Straits between America and Asia, and Death of Behring—Explorations of Vancouver—The Mutiny of the *Bounty*—Voyage of the *Bounty* to Tahiti—Mutiny of Fletcher Christian and a portion of the Crew—Voyage of Lieutenant Bligh in an Open Boat, and Return to England—Arrival of the Frigate *Pandora* at Tahiti, and Loss on her Passage to England—Trial by Court Martial and Punishment of the Mutineers—The Story of the Settlers from the *Bounty* in Pitcairn Island.

MENTION has been made of Behring in connection with Cook's explorations in the straits called after the Danish navigator; but Behring, whose fate adds another tragic chapter to the annals of nautical research, merits more than a passing notice.

The first establishment of the Russians on the river Lena, flowing into the Siberian Sea, was in the year 1636, and within the next few years the rivers between the Lena and the Kolyma were visited by the Russians, Michael Staduchin, a Cossack, having built a fort on the Kolyma in 1644. On his return to Yakutsk, he brought back a report that in the frozen sea there was a large island, extending along the horizon from the river Lena to the Kolyma, which was visible in clear weather from the mainland, whence people passed over on the ice. He also spoke of a river named the Pogitsha, three or four days' sail from the Kolyma. Two years after reaching the last-named river, a body of Russian traders

sailed to the eastward, and anchored in a bay where they met a people called the Tshuktzki, with whom they entered into traffic by the primitive method mentioned by Herodotus—the Russians placing their goods on the strand, and then retreating, when the natives took what they required, leaving in exchange sea-horse teeth, in whole and in pieces.

Induced by the profits arising from this traffic, in the year 1648, seven vessels sailed from the Kolyma, under the command of Semoen Deshnief, with the object of reaching the river Anadir. Of these vessels, four were wrecked soon after leaving Kolyma, but the three others navigated the ice-bound coast of Siberia in safety, and passed through Behring's Strait to the mouth of the Anadir. The journal of this remarkable voyage is imperfect, and it is not clear if they actually circumnavigated the eastern extremity of Asia, or drew their vessels across that peninsula.

Deshnief's narrative begins at the Great Cape of the Tshuktzki, doubtless Cape East in Behring's Strait, of which he says: 'It is situated between the north and north-east, and turns circularly towards the river Anadir. Over against the cape are two islands, upon which were seen men of the Tshuktzki nation, who had holes pierced in their lips, through which were stuck pieces of the teeth of the sea-horse.' Of the squadron, Deshnief's vessel alone arrived in the Bay of Anadir, where it was wrecked a little to the south of the river of that name, and in this country he remained with twenty-five men until April, 1650, when they were found by Staduchin, who had journeyed thither by land.

In 1696, we find that a party of Cossacks penetrated to Kamtschatka, from the people of which country they learned of the Kurile Islands and of the empire of

Japan, between which and Kamtschatka this long chain of islands extends. To Peter the Great Russia is indebted for all the grand schemes of conquest which his successors sought to achieve with unabated pertinacity, and have, in point of fact, almost accomplished. Among these great projects was one for ascertaining whether America and Asia were actually separated by a strait, and a few days before his death he drew up, with his own hand, the following instructions bearing upon this question:

'1. To construct at Kamtschatka, or other commodious place on the Eastern Ocean, one or two vessels.

'2. With them to examine the coasts towards the north and towards the east, to see whether they were not contiguous with America, since their end was not known.

'3. To see whether there was any harbour belonging to Europeans in those parts. To keep an exact journal of all that should be discovered, with which the commander was to return to St. Petersburg.'

Peter was desirous of despatching two vessels for Archangel to act in co-operation and examine the north coast of Siberia; but though this was done, one of the vessels was hemmed in by the ice, and the other was not heard of after sailing. The scheme of this great Czar was in other respects successful. Captain Behring, a Danish officer in the Russian navy, remarkable for his zeal and capacity, with his associate, a Russian officer, Tshirikof by name, and a party of seamen and shipwrights, journeyed from St. Petersburg to Okotsk, where one vessel was constructed for transporting the crew and stores to Kamtschatka, where a second vessel was to be built. These preparations required three years for their completion, but at length on the 14th July, 1728, the expedition sailed from the river of Kamtschatka.

Sailing to the northward, in about three weeks' time they reached 64° 30′ N. lat., where they were met by a canoe containing eight men, who pointed out a small island to the north, to which was given the name of St. Lawrence. Behring proceeded to 67° 18′, having thus, without knowing it, sailed through the straits which have received his name, and a considerable distance beyond the most eastern point of Asia. Seeing that no land was discernible to the north or east, Behring correctly divined that he had proved the separation of the two continents, but it is strange that he did not sight the land of America, and it was reserved for Captain Cook to prove the contiguity of the continents.

Schestakoff, an officer of Cossacks, published a chart in 1626, in which an island was placed two days' sail off the Kolyma, and a coast-line called the Large Country was placed a further two days' sail to the north, showing that the existence of a continent here was more than a mere tradition. This officer submitted a proposal for the conquest of the Tshuktzki people and an examination of their country and of the Schantarian Isles; and in 1727 he was placed in command of an expedition and defeated the Tshuktzki, but was killed in the battle. Paulutski, another Russian officer, however, completed their subjugation in 1731, having marched with this object from Anadir, and is supposed to have visited the most north-easterly part of Asia seen by Behring. In this same year a Cossack named Krupishef sailed round Kamtschatka to act in co-operation. He says: 'A gale of wind forced him from the point of land at which Behring's voyage had terminated; he steered towards the east and found first an island and afterwards a country of great extent. As soon as they had sight of this land, a man came to them in a canoe like to those of

the Greenlanders. They could only understand from him that he was an inhabitant of a large country where there were many animals and forests. The Russians followed the coast of this land two whole days without being able to approach it, when a storm came on and they returned to Kamtschatka.' This voyage of Krupishef proved the proximity of certain lands with the Asiatic continent, but Captain Cook was the first to demonstrate that this land was America.

On the 4th June, 1741, Behring and Tshirikof, for the third time, set sail from Kamtschatka, 'with the intention, when they reached the latitude of 50° N., to direct their course to the east till they met with the continent of America.' The voyage was destined to be historical, though the leader fell a sacrifice to his enterprise. The ships were separated in a gale of wind on the 20th June, and Tshirikof, who made the American continent in 55° 36′, returned to Kamtschatka in October. On the 18th July, Behring sighted the continent in the latitude of 58° 28′, and, according to his reckoning, 50° east from the meridian of Petropaulovski. The two nearest headlands he called Capes St. Elias and Hermogenes, and to some islands he gave the name of Schumagin, from a Russian sailor who was buried there. At the close of September, when he quitted the Aleutian Islands, the greater part of the crew, including the commander himself, were disabled by the scurvy, and thus, 'in a tempestuous season and unknown seas, the vessel was driven along almost at the mercy of the wind.'

On the 4th November, in lat. 50° N., an island was seen, and the ship being now in an unseaworthy condition, and the crew unfit for duty owing to the dreadful ravages of the scurvy, Behring ran her ashore. Thirty of the crew died on the island, which is called after

Behring, who himself expired here on the 8th December. The crew passed a terrible winter, and on the 6th May the survivors, numbering forty-five persons, commenced building a vessel from the timbers that remained of the wreck, in order to return to Kamtschatka. The new vessel was launched on the 10th August, and they sailed on the 16th; but owing to adverse winds, did not cast anchor in the Bay of Petropaulovski until the 27th of the month.

From this time Russian trade with the Aleutian Islands commenced, and was soon extended to the American coast, the Russian Government occupying the extreme north-west portion, to which the name of Alaska was given. A few years since this province was sold to the Government of the United States of America, so that England is now the only European power having possessions in North America, her rivals France and Russia having yielded up theirs either by conquest or sale.

Captain George Vancouver, who had served as a midshipman under Captain Cook, proceeded, in 1790-95, in the footsteps of his captain, and explored the west coast of America, including the island called after him; and thus, though his voyage was undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the existence of navigable communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, it was not without practical results, for he made many important additions to our knowledge of this part of the American continent.

But soon all considerations of geographical research or maritime survey were banished from the thoughts of the nations of Europe, for the ambition of the great Napoleon overshadowed the world, and the nautical powers, France, Spain, and England, were engaged in

the more deadly rivalry of war. Between 1793, when hostilities broke out with the French Republic, to 1815, all attempts to extend our knowledge of distant seas ceased, though indeed there was little more to discover, for Captain Cook had completed the task begun in the last decade of the fifteenth century by Columbus and Vasco de Gama. It was futile for the ardent spirits of the British Navy to sigh for fresh worlds to discover, for the oceans and seas of both hemispheres had been explored and made to deliver up their secrets, even to the smallest islet and shoal of rocks; but there was a fresh field for the hydrographical surveyor, whose services, if less showy, were not less useful to mankind and the cause of civilisation. It would occupy a volume were we to attempt the briefest record of maritime surveys,* and we will abstain from the task, which is, moreover, not germane to the scope of this work.

One of the most interesting romances of the sea is the story of the mutiny of the *Bounty*, which has been told by Sir John Barrow and other writers, and forms the groundwork of Byron's beautiful poem 'The Island.' In the year 1787, Lieutenant Bligh, who had served under Captain Cook, but, though he possessed many of that great sailor's qualifications for command, was not gifted with his conciliatory disposition, sailed in the brig *Bounty*, of 215 tons, to Tahiti, to procure a supply of bread-fruit trees for Jamaica for the use of the slaves.

Lieutenant Bligh fulfilled his mission at Tahiti, and was returning to the West Indies, when, on the morning of the 28th April, 1789, the storm burst on his unsus-

* A complete record of the surveys of the Eastern seas, extending from China to Zanzibar, from the year 1771 to 1863, when the service was abolished, will be found in the author's 'History of the Indian Navy,' 2 vols. Bentley, 1878.

pecting head. Byron graphically describes the peaceful scene:

'The morning watch had come; the vessel lay
Her course, and gently made her liquid way;
The cloven billow flashed from off her prow
In furrows form'd by that majestic plough;
The waters with their world were all before,
Behind, the South Sea's many an islet shore.
* * * * *
The gallant chief within his cabin slept,
Secure in those by whom the watch was kept.'

On the morning of the 28th April, Fletcher Christian, Master's Mate, with many malcontents among the crew, rose in mutiny, and some of them, making their way below into the sacred precincts of the captain's cabin, seized and bound the still sleeping Bligh:

'Fiercely beside thy cot the mutineer
Stands, and proclaims the reign of rage and fear.
Thy limbs are bound, the bayonet at thy breast;
The hands, which trembled at thy voice, arrest;
Dragg'd o'er the deck, no more at thy command
The obedient helm shall veer, the sail expand.'

Under Christian's instructions the launch was hoisted out, and some provisions and water hastily placed in it. Bligh says in his journal: 'The boatswain and those seamen who were to be put into the boat, were allowed to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, and a 28-gallon cask of water; and Mr. Samuel, the clerk, got 150 lb. of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine; also a quadrant and compass . . . The officers were next called on deck and forced over the ship's side into the boat, while I was kept apart abaft the mizen-mast. Christian, armed with a bayonet, held the cord fastening my hands, and the guard around me stood with their pieces cocked; but on my daring the ungrateful wretches to fire, they uncocked them.' The

only arms allowed them were four cutlasses, and, the officers and men being in the boat, Bligh was forced to join them. Speaking of the ingratitude towards him displayed by Christian, who had sailed on three voyages with him, Bligh says: 'The remembrance of past kindnesses produced some remorse in him. While they were forcing me out the ship, I asked him whether this was a proper return for the many instances he had experienced of my friendship? He appeared disturbed at the question, and answered with much emotion: "That, Captain Bligh—that is the thing. I am in hell—I am in hell!"' How closely Byron followed the account from Bligh's journal, may be gathered by comparing the preceding passage with the poet's version:

> 'When Bligh in stern reproach demanded where
> Was now his grateful sense of former care?
> Where all his hopes to see his name aspire,
> And blazon Britain's thousand glories higher?
> His feverish lips thus broke their gloomy spell,
> "'Tis that! 'tis that! I am in hell! in hell!"'

Bligh had with him in the boat eighteen persons, including the master, acting-surgeon, botanist, gunner, boatswain, carpenter, two quartermasters and sail-maker; and there remained on board the *Bounty* with Christian, Messrs. Peter Heyward, Edward Young, and George Stewart, midshipmen, seven petty officers and fourteen seamen, 'being altogether the most able men of the ship's company.' On examination Bligh found that besides the bread and water already referred to, there were in the boat thirty-two pounds of pork, six quarts of rum, and six bottles of wine, and this was the sole provision for nineteen souls.

They first steered to the Island of Tofoa, which was close at hand, where they obtained some bread-fruit and

cocoanuts, but no water. The natives, however, seeing their defenceless condition, attacked them, and they were glad to get quit of this inhospitable island, with the loss of one of the quartermasters who was stoned to death. Bligh now steered for Timor, distant some 1200 leagues. Their sufferings were very severe during the forty-one days they were exposed in the open boat to the raging sun and the stormy and heavy seas, which drenched them to the skin, while famine and sickness aggravated their miserable cramped condition. But so judicious was the commander's management of the boat, and the food at his disposal, that not one man died during the voyage, a distance, according to the log, of 3618 nautical miles. 'Our bodies,' says Bligh, 'were nothing but skin and bones, our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed in rags.'

> 'But 'tis not mine to tell their tale of grief,
> Their constant peril and their scant relief;
> Their days of danger, and their nights of pain;
> Their manly courage even when deem'd in vain;
> The sapping famine, rendering scarce a son
> Known to his mother in the skeleton.'

On Sunday, the 14th June, they landed at Coupang, where they were hospitably entertained by all classes; and on the 20th August they proceeded in a small schooner to Batavia, whence Lieutenant Bligh sailed for England, and landed at the Isle of Wight on the 14th March, 1790. His companions in misfortune also proceeded to England as opportunity offered, but only eleven arrived in their native land. Bligh was promoted to the rank of Commander, and proceeded a second time to transport the bread-fruit to the West Indies, which he successfully accomplished.

While on the subject of boat voyages, we may note, as scarcely less remarkable than Bligh's, that of Captain

Inglefield and eleven men of H.M.'s ship *Centaur* in a small leaky boat. With the aid of a blanket, which served as a sail, they voyaged nearly 1000 miles in mid Atlantic, to Fayal. For sixteen days they subsisted on one-sixth of a biscuit per day for each man, and the allowance of water, twice a day, was the contents of the neck of a bottle broken off with the cork in. But the most adventurous voyage, as being voluntarily undertaken, was that made, in 1536-37, by Diego Botelho Perreira (recorded in the *Quarterly Review* vol. xviii.), who sailed from India for Portugal in a decked Indian row-boat, 16½ feet in length (6½ feet shorter than Bligh's boat). It is mentioned that some of the crew, natives, died of cold on the passage, but how many there were in all is not stated. Botelho was received with great distinction by his sovereign, who visited his tiny craft, and was appointed governor of Cannanore. Within recent years two voyages in the summer months have been made by small boats from America to England, and the writer inspected a decked boat, 16 feet in length, which made the passage, her crew being two men. But the act is a foolhardy one, and those who undertake it, even in a decked boat, are not unlikely to meet the fate of the famous marine surveyor, Lieutenant McCluer, of the Indian Navy, who, on one occasion, made the voyage from the Pelew Islands to Macao, a distance of 1600 miles, in a small six-oared boat of his ship, the *Panther*.

The Admiralty despatched the *Pandora* frigate, carrying twenty-four guns and 160 men, under command of Captain Edwards, to the South Seas to hunt up the mutineers and bring them to justice. This voyage is as remarkable for its disastrous termination as that of the *Bounty*. The *Pandora* steered for Tahiti,

where it was supposed the mutineers had landed in order to enjoy the companionship of the dusky beauties of whom they were enamoured :

> 'Young hearts which languish'd for some sunny isle,
> Where summer years and summer women smile,
> Men without country, who, too long estranged,
> Had found no native home, or found it changed,
> And, half uncivilised, preferr'd the cave
> Of some soft savage to the uncertain wave.'

The *Pandora* anchored at Matavai Bay, in Tahiti, on the 23rd March, 1791, and Captain Edwards succeeded in arresting fourteen of the mutineers, including Messrs. Heywood and Stewart, midshipmen, who voluntarily came on board. The latter young officer was married to the daughter of a chief, and the scene of parting was said to be of so affecting a character, that even the rough seamen were moved to tears. The poor young wife died within two months of a broken heart, and her infant daughter was brought up by some missionaries. Of the twenty-five original mutineers, two had been killed, and nine had left the island on the 21st September, 1789, in the *Bounty*, under Christian; but of their destination no information could be procured.

On the 8th May Captain Edwards sailed, taking with him a small schooner the mutineers had constructed, thirty-five feet in length, and in which six of their number had made an attempt to escape to the East Indies, but distrusting the capacity of their navigating officer, Morrison, had returned to the island. The subsequent career of this little craft was as remarkable as that of all connected with this singular episode of the sea. She parted company with the *Pandora*, and at length arrived at Samarang, in Java, the crew having suffered from the extremity of famine. After many years' employment in the South Seas, where

she was noted for her sailing qualities, she was purchased by Captain Broughton of H.M.'s ship *Providence*, to assist in surveying the coast of Tartary, and when that ship was wrecked in 1797, near Formosa, was the means of preserving the lives of 112 men, the survivors of the crew.*

After a fruitless search of three months for the *Bounty*, during which a jolly-boat with her crew was lost, the *Pandora* arrived on the 29th August on the coast of Australia, and was wrecked off the Barrier Reef, when thirty-one of the ship's crew, and four of the mutineers, including Stewart, perished. Captain Edwards was accused of great inhumanity towards his prisoners, who were manacled, hands and feet, and confined in a round-house on the upper deck, called Pandora's Box. When the ship was sinking, and every effort being made for the preservation of the crew, it is asserted that 'no notice was taken of the prisoners,' although Captain Edwards was entreated by Mr. Heywood to have mercy upon them, when he passed over their prison to make his own escape, the ship then lying on her broadside with the port bow completely under water. But when escape seemed impossible, their custodian, the master-at-arms, who was himself drowned, let the keys of their manacles fall, either by accident or design, through the scuttle of their prison-house, and with the assistance, at imminent personal risk, of a boatswain's mate, some of them were enabled to set themselves free, Stewart and his three companions perishing with the irons on their hands. The surgeon of the *Pandora* says: 'The crew had just time to jump overboard, accompanying it with a most dreadful yell. The cries of the men drowning

* See Barrow's 'Mutiny of the *Bounty*,' 1847.

in the water were at first awful in the extreme, but as they sunk and became faint, they died away by degrees.' The scene may have given the hint to Byron in his lines in 'Don Juan':

> 'And first one universal shriek there rush'd
> Louder than the loud ocean, like a crash
> Of echoing thunder; and then all was hushed,
> Save the wild wind and the remorseless dash
> Of billows.'

The only sustenance the survivors, numbering eighty-nine of the crew of the *Pandora* and ten mutineers, who were collected in four boats, had at their disposal consisted of water sufficient to give each man a daily allowance of two wine-glasses for sixteen days, and two ounces of biscuits per diem, which were weighed out by musket balls and a pair of wooden scales in each boat. Thus provided they set sail on the 2nd September, and, passing the north-west point of Australia, arrived on the night of the 15th at Coupang, where they received a hospitable welcome. After a stay of three weeks, they embarked for Samarang on board a Dutch Indiaman, and sailing in their little tender, which they thought had been lost, arrived on the 7th November at Batavia. The shipwrecked seamen found their way home in four Dutch ships, and Captain Edwards, transhipping the prisoners at the Cape into H.M.'s ship *Gorgon*, arrived at Spithead on the 19th June, 1792.

On the 12th September, Mr. Peter Heywood and the nine other prisoners were put on their trial before a court-martial, on the capital charge of mutiny,* Vice-

* Article 19 of the 'Articles of War' declares that 'if any person in or belonging to the fleet shall make, or endeavour to make, any mutinous assembly, upon any pretence whatsoever, every person offending herein, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of the court-martial, shall suffer death.' In the so-called 'Black Book of the Admiralty' are contained the provisions of the laws of Oleron, com-

Admiral Lord Hood being president of the court, which consisted of eleven distinguished post-captains; and after a patient investigation, extending over six days, six of them were condemned to death, the remaining four prisoners being acquitted. Mr. Heywood and Morrison, the boatswain's mate, who wrote an interesting journal of the entire incidents, were, however, recommended to mercy, and on the 24th October they and Muspratt, a seaman, were pardoned, while Ellison, Burkitt, and Millward, three seamen, were executed on board H.M.'s ship *Brunswick*, in Portsmouth harbour. But what, the reader will ask, became of the prime mover in this episode which had so tragic an ending?

In 1808, nearly twenty years after Christian and his companions had disappeared from Tahiti, when the exciting incidents of the life-and-death struggle between England and France had caused the romantic story of the mutiny of the *Bounty* to fade from the public mind, an accident brought their history to light. The American ship *Topaz*, Captain Foulger, happened to visit Pitcairn Island, one of the Low Archipelago, to the south of the Marquesas group, a small uninhabited island, two and a quarter miles in length by one in breadth, sighted by Captain Carteret on the 2nd July, 1767, who called it after the discoverer, a son of Major Pitcairn, of the Marines, who was lost in the *Aurora*, the same ship in which Falconer, the poet of the 'Ship-

posed under the directions of Richard I., which became the code employed in our mercantile marine, and was embodied in the Institutions of Wisbuy. Therein it was enacted that 'Whoever draws a sword upon the master of a vessel, or wilfully falsifies the compass, shall have his right hand nailed to the mast. Whoever behaves riotously shall be punished by being keel-hauled [a most barbarous punishment, as its name denotes]. Whoever is guilty of rebellion (mutiny) shall be thrown overboard.'

wreck,' was drowned. Captain Foulger found an Englishman, named Alexander Smith, the only survivor of that portion of the crew of the *Bounty* that quitted Tahiti. This man related that the party numbered nine Englishmen and eighteen natives, of whom twelve were women, that Christian fell a victim to the jealousy of one of the Tahiti men, who were all killed by the Englishmen; that these quarrelled and killed one another or died, leaving, of the original settlers, only himself (John Adams, as he was now called), and eight or nine women, with several children, including a son of Christian, called Thursday October. Captain Foulger added that the colony, numbering thirty-five souls, all spoke English, and had been educated in a religious, moral way by Adams, who was greatly respected.

Nothing further was heard of these people until September, 1814, when Pitcairn Island was visited by H.M.'s ships *Briton* and *Tagus*, and the colonists were found to have increased to forty-six souls. On this occasion the ships were visited by the sons of Christian and Mr. Young, midshipman, whose appearance and behaviour created a very favourable impression on both Captains Sir Thomas Staines and Pipon, who have recorded their interview with these youths and with old Adams. The next time Pitcairn Island was visited by an English ship was in 1825, when H.M.'s ship *Blossom* arrived, and Captain Beechey's narrative, gathered from Adams, of the events that led to the extermination of the natives and all the Englishmen, except himself and Young, who died of illness, differs from the preceding. By this account, the natives first murdered five of the Englishmen,* and then the former were killed by the

* Of the two others, besides Smith and Young, one man, Quintal,

women. Three years before Captain Beechey's visit, in March, 1822, an American whaler, the *Russell*, Captain Arthur, visited Pitcairn Island, and an interesting account* of the people is given by her commander, but though Adams was the informant of all these gentlemen, the accounts differ in the details of the massacres.

In March, 1829, Adams died, and in the following March the island was visited by H.M.'s ship *Seringapatam*, Captain the Hon. W. Waldegrave, who brought a quantity of clothing and stores from the British Government for the settlers. The population, which, at the time of Beechey's visit, numbered sixty-six, of whom thirty-six were males, had now increased to seventy-nine. Twenty-one years later, the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island numbered 160 souls, of whom eighty-one were males, the proportions of the sexes being almost exactly equal. The water being insufficient for the supply of the population of the island, in 1856 this thriving colony was removed, by the British Government, to Norfolk Island, situated about 400 miles north-west of New Zealand, formerly used as a convict settlement. In December, 1858, two families, consisting of sixteen persons, and in 1864, others of the descendants of the mutineers,† returned to Pitcairn Island, and in the year 1878, were visited by H.M.'s ship *Shah*, flagship of

was killed by them in self-defence, and the other became insane and threw himself from the rocks.

* See *Asiatic Journal* for October, 1822.

† Recently some interest has been excited in this country by the arrival, from Pitcairn Island, of James Russell McCoy, a descendant of William McCoy, a seaman of the *Bounty*, and a great-grandson of Fletcher Christian, the ringleader of the mutiny. McCoy informed the writer that at the time of his leaving the island (18th January, 1881) there were ninety-five inhabitants, including a woman, aged ninety, a daughter of Mr. Young, midshipman.

Rear-Admiral de Horsey, who, in a memorandum to the Admiralty, has given an account of the present condition of this interesting community, which, on the occasion of his visit, numbered forty males and fifty females, of whom thirty-eight were adults.

The interest attaching to the fate of the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, must be our excuse for having given the narrative in detail somewhat beyond its relative importance in a work of this character. Of the twenty-five men remaining on board the *Bounty*, either as willing or unwilling agents in the mutiny, two were murdered and fourteen were removed in the *Pandora*, of whom four were drowned and three were executed. Even more tragic was the fate of those who landed on Pitcairn Island, for of nine men, seven met with violent deaths. Doubtless the occasion of the mutiny was not so much the conduct of Lieutenant Bligh, who was somewhat harsh towards his crew, as the memory of the blandishments of the women of Tahiti, for, in Byron's words:

> 'The white man landed: need the rest be told?
> The new world stretch'd its dusk hand to the old.'

CHAPTER XI.

A Review of Arctic Discovery—The original Object of Polar Exploration—The mythical Voyage of Madoc—The Explorations of the Cortereals—The Fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby in Lapland—The Voyages to the Polar Regions of Chancellor, Burrough and Frobisher—Captain John Davis discovers Hudson's Strait—Death of Davis—Discoveries in the North-East—Three Voyages of William Barentz, and Discovery of Spitzbergen—Death of Barentz—Voyages of Russian and Swedish Navigators to the North-East—Discovery of Franz Josef Land—Henry Hudson's four Voyages to the Polar Regions—Death of Hudson—Baffin discovers Lancaster Sound—Minor Arctic Voyages of British Officers.

THERE is no branch of nautical research which has excited such universal interest as Arctic discovery; and the reasons are not far to seek, for the wonders of the Polar area with its unsolved problems are eminently calculated to fascinate the imagination, while the dangers of battling with the ice and the fearful inclemency of the winter must always have a peculiar fascination for the adventurous Englishman. It is a strange thought, with our present geographical knowledge, that the object sought to be attained in all the early voyages to the Arctic regions, was a north-west or north-east passage to India, for the purpose of opening a trade with the countries to which Vasco de Gama and other Portuguese seamen had gained access by the sea route round the

Cape. From the earliest times the two routes to India were by the Suez Canal and the Euphrates Valley.

It has been surmised by a philosophic writer, that in the competition between these routes may be found the true key to the history of the successive States along their course. These cities and empires rose, according to this theory, as they gained the trade of India, and fell when they lost it. Various have been the powers which at first or second hand have monopolised or shared this wealthy commerce. The list comprises Assyria, Egypt, Phœnicia, Palestine, Tyre, and Petra, with those great mediæval carriers, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. Empires flourished and decayed, but so long as the trade of India kept to its old grooves, the peoples prospered. Even the Ottoman rule, which in the three centuries from the capture of Adrianople in A.D. 1361, to the capture of Baghdad in A.D. 1638, by Amarath IV., had asserted itself upon the overland routes by the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, could not by itself have effected the impoverishment of the cities which commanded them, which was achieved by the peaceful triumph of Vasco de Gama, who, by landing at Calicut, converted Western Asia into a desert, and impoverished all the countries of the Mediterranean for nearly three centuries. Notwithstanding the continuous commercial intercourse between India and the west, the country itself remained for ages an almost mythical land. The very name was unknown for centuries after its myrrh and frankincense had been burnt in Solomon's Temple. To Homer the 'mild' Hindoos were probably the 'blameless Ethiopians' who dwelt at 'the world's green end,' though others have conjectured that the terms, like the land of Ophir of Biblical history, apply to the island of Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, or the country about Mozambique.

The Greeks knew of 'Indian gold,' but not of the vast peninsula from which it came, till the conquests of Alexander; and even to the Romans it was a half-fabulous region. Yet Pliny calculates that Egypt sent every year to India, in exchange for Indian goods, 550,000,000 sesterces in gold and silver, equal to about £1,400,000; and the Greek and Latin writers speak of the trade, which kept ever increasing from the far-off times when the Egyptians embalmed their dead with Indian spices. These, with diamonds and woven work, were conveyed by the caravan road past Petra, and later by the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes, to which modern commerce, while not deserting the Cape, has returned. Now that the Euphrates Valley Railway is emerging from the region of possibilities into that of probabilities, we may see before the advent of the next century the old cities of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley again rising from the dust of ages; and Petra, Jerusalem, Palmyra, Tyre and Sidon, Aleppo, Antioch, and Tarsus, or cities occupying corresponding sites, once more participating in the returning prosperity of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Mr. Birdwood, a writer of acknowledged authority on Indian commerce, in a recent work expresses an opinion that even the old routes must wane before one yet shorter, and 'the shortest line between almost any part of Europe and India leads through Russia, the Caspian Sea, and Persia. From Astrakhan to Bunder Abbas is a perpendicular line of some 1400 miles, of which one half lies through the Caspian Sea; it is barely 200 longer to Kurrachee. As sure as the fall of a plummet will the commerce of the future between India and Europe gravitate to this new line. From Bunder Abbas it will run through Kirman, by Yezd, Julfa, Ispahan,

Kashan, Teheran, Kazvin, and Resht, and along the western shore of the Caspian to Baku and Astrakhan, whence it will branch off to every part of Europe.' If this prediction be verified, of which we entertain great doubts, then the future of Russia will be grander than even Peter the Great dreamt of, and from being a poor country, with an impoverished population, Russian commerce with its protectionism will dominate the world, which will become, as Napoleon predicted, 'either Republican or Cossack.' The White Czar of the once turbulent, but now submissive, races of Central Asia, will then be the most powerful potentate of the globe, for he will command money as he now commands unlimited armies, and the 'Divine figure from the North' will

> 'bestride this narrow world
> Like a Colossus, and we petty men walk under his huge legs
> and peep about
> To find ourselves dishonoured graves.'

The Arctic basin has a diameter of some 2,400 geographical miles, and this vast area is occupied by frozen fields and ice-floes,

> 'Whose blocks of sapphire seem to mortal eye
> Hewn from cerulean quarries in the sky,
> With glacier battlements that crowd the spheres,
> The slow creation of six thousand years,
> Amidst immensity they tower sublime,
> Winter's eternal palace built by Time.'

We have already referred to the voyages to Greenland, Nova Scotia, and other parts of the American coast made by Scandinavian sea-kings five centuries before the discoveries of Columbus and Cabot, but after the year 1406 all intercourse between the colonists in Greenland and Europe ceased, and the attempts made by the

Danish Government to ascertain their fate has been in vain.

First we have the legends connected with Madoc, whom Welsh tradition hails as the discoverer of America. He flourished in the twelfth century, and was a son of Owen Guynetts, prince of North Wales, and to avoid being engaged in a civil war, about the year 1170, set sail to seek out new habitations. Steering due west, he came to an unknown country, where he settled a colony, and returning thence to Wales, embarked a second supply of people, but was never heard of again. Meredith Ap Rees, who died in 1477, before the discovery of America, composed an ode in honour of Madoc, wherein was contained an account of his discoveries. It is probable, however, that the land to which this tradition refers was Greenland.

Passing over the somewhat apocryphal accounts of their discoveries by the brothers Zeno, of which we have given some notice in a previous chapter, we come to the voyages of the Cortereals, who attempted to find a route to India and the Spice Islands by sailing westward round the northern extremity of America. The first of the name, John Vaz, to engage in this impossible enterprise proceeded in 1463, by order of Alfonso V. of Portugal, to the northern seas and discovered Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Terra de Bacculhaos (Land of the Cod-fish). By some writers this discovery, mentioned by Cordeiro,* is discredited, but there can be no doubt of the authenticity of the discovery of Labrador by Sebastian Cabot in 1497. Gaspar, son of John Vaz Cortereal, sailed from Lisbon in 1500, and touching at the Azores, re-discovered Greenland, to which he gave the name of Terra Verde.

* See his 'Historia Insulana,' vol. i.

Pascoal, Venetian ambassador to Lisbon, gives Cortereal's own account, dated the 29th October, 1501, of this voyage (which appears in the first book of voyages published in Europe, at Vicenza in 1507), in which he says that he coasted along Labrador for a distance of 800 miles; and Ramusio, whose general accuracy is undeniable, has an account of the discoveries of the Portuguese navigator in his discourse on Terra Firma and the Oriental Islands. As further proof it may be noted that, in a map in an edition of Ptolemy, published in Rome in 1508, Labrador is named Corterealis, as it is also by Ortelius; and Sebastian Munster, in his 'Chorography,' printed at Basle in 1544, calls Newfoundland, Cortereal. There is also little doubt that the Portuguese navigator ascended the St. Lawrence several leagues.*

On the 15th May, 1501, Gaspar sailed from Lisbon with the hope of finding the North-west Passage to India, but his ship was lost at sea. His brother Michael proceeded in quest of him, in the following year, with three ships, two of which returned without effecting the object of the search, but the third, under Richard's command, was never heard of again.

The first British expedition to the Polar regions was that organised in the year 1553 by the Muscovy Company of London Merchants, 'for the discovery of Cathaie,' with the object of commercial intercourse with India, by what is known as the North-east Passage, as, after the discovery of the route by the Cape of Good Hope, and the establishment of the Portuguese dominion and commerce in the East, our countrymen were inflamed with the desire to participate in this El Dorado. The

* See Ramusio's 'Voyages,' and Barrow's 'History of Arctic Voyages.'

expedition, which consisted of three small vessels, was placed under the command of 'that valiant and well-born gentleman,' Sir Hugh Willoughby, who was selected 'by reason of his goodly personage, for he was of tall stature,' his other qualifications for the post being 'his singular skill in the services of war'—truly strange accomplishments for an Arctic commander. The Governor of the Company, Sebastian Cabot—who in the year 1548 had been named 'Grand Pilot of England' by Edward VI., with a salary of £166 13s. 4d.—gave his assistance and advice in fitting out the ships, he being too aged to accompany the expedition.

The ships sailed from the Thames on the 10th May, 1553, and about the end of July were off the Lofoden Isles, on the Norwegian coast, but soon after were dispersed by a storm. Clement Adams, who described the voyage, says, that Richard Chancellor, the second in command, came to 'a place where there was no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea. And having the benefit of this perpetual light for certain days, at length it pleased God to bring them into a certain great bay, which was a hundred miles or thereabouts over. Whereunto they entered, and somewhat far within it cast anchor; and looking every way about them, it happened that they espied afar off a fisher-boat, which Master Chancellor, accompanied with a few of his men, went towards to commune with the fishermen that were in it, and to know of them what country it was.' Chancellor reached Archangel in the White Sea, whence he journeyed to Moscow, where he was well received by the Czar Vasilovich, and thus opened our trading relations with Russia. Sir Hugh Willoughby was not so fortunate. With the *Esperanza* and *Confi-*

dentia he sailed to the eastward, and sighted land in 72° N. lat., which, it is supposed, was the west coast of Nova Zembla.* Nothing was heard of him until the spring of the following year, when his body and those of the entire crews of the two ships, numbering sixty-five men, were found by some Russian fishermen, frozen to death at the mouth of the river Arzina, on the coast of Lapland. As the poet Thomson wrote:

> 'Miserable they,
> Who here entangled in the gathering ice,
> Take their last look of the descending sun,
> While full of death, and fierce with tenfold frost,
> The long, long night, incumbent o'er their heads,
> Falls horrible. Such was the Briton's fate,
> As with first prow (what have not Britons dared!)
> He for the passage sought, attempted since
> So much in vain.'

Some information regarding the shipwrecked crew was gathered from a journal in the hand of Sir Hugh Willoughby, which was found, and also his will, dated early in 1554. Sir Hugh speaks of having seen land on the 14th August, in the seventy-second parallel; but they lost sight of it again, and early in September found themselves off the coast of Lapland. Sir Hugh Willoughby writes: 'We went ashore with our boat and found two or three good harbours, the land being rocky and high, but as for people we could see none. The 15th, we ran still along the coast until the 17th, when the wind being contrary unto us, we thought it best to return to the harbour we had found before; howbeit, we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18th September, we entered the

* The proper name for this island, which is supposed to have been discovered by the Russians, is Novaya Zemlya, meaning in that language New Land.

haven, and there came to anchor in six fathoms. This haven runneth into the main about two leagues, and is in breadth half a league, wherein were very many seal fishes, and other great fishes ; and upon the main we saw bears, great deer, foxes, with divers strange beasts, which were to us unknown, and also wonderful. Thus remaining in this haven the space of a week, seeing the year far spent, and also very evil weather, as frost, snow, and hail, as though it had been the depth of winter, we thought it best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men south-south-west to search if they could find people, who went three days' journey, but could find none. After that we sent other three westward four days' journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men south-east three days' journey, who in like sort returned without finding people, or any similitude of habitations.' This is the last entry in the journal. Sir Hugh Willoughby* was the first of the noble roll of martyrs to Arctic research, but his failure only induced others to follow in his footsteps.

Passing over with brief mention the second voyage of Chancellor, and that of Stephen Burrough, in 1556, who sighted Nova Zembla, but, like Willoughby, did not land, we come to an honoured name in Arctic exploration, that of Martin Frobisher, who, unlike the

* Purchas, in his 'Pilgrimes,' claims the honour of the discovery of Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla for our countrymen, Willoughby and Burrough, though there can be no doubt that it was achieved by the Russians and the Dutchman Barentz, and Sir Hugh was never within many degrees of Spitzbergen. But what that famous old writer has said of the relative positions of the Dutch and English seamen as regards Arctic discovery is applicable at the present day to that of our navy and the rest of the world: 'The English hath beene an elder brother, a doctor and ductor to the Hollanders in their martiall feats at home, and Neptunian exploits abroad' (Purchas, vol. iii. p. 461).

preceding, sought his fortunes to the north-west. On the 15th June, 1576, he sailed from Blackwall with two vessels, the *Gabriel* and *Michael*. Queen Elizabeth waved her farewells from her palace at Greenwich, while the ships and river-banks were lined with crowds of people, who shouted their good wishes to their gallant countrymen.

> 'As stately swept the gallant vessels by,
> The breeze springs up; the lately flapping sail
> Extends its arch before the growing gale;
> In swifter ripples stream aside the seas,
> Which her bold bow flings off with dashing ease.'

Passing the Orkneys, Frobisher sighted Greenland on the 11th July, and Cape Chudleigh on the 31st, and then crossed the eastern entrance of the strait afterwards explored by Hudson. Frobisher discovered the gulf named after him, which he supposed was a strait, and setting sail on his return, arrived at Harwich on the 7th October. It appears that Frobisher was enjoined to study the natural phenomena of the Arctic regions, for in his instructions he is directed: 'Yf yt be possible, you shall leave some persons to winter in the straight, giving them instructions how they may observe the nature of the ayre and state of the countrie, and what tyme of the yeare the straight is most free from yce.'*

On the 21st May in the following year, he again

* Accounts of Frobisher's three voyages to 'Meta Incognita' and other portions of the American continent may be found in Hakluyt and Pinkerton. An account of the first voyage was written by Christopher Hall, master of the *Gabriel* (Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 29), and another by himself (Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 57). The narrative of the second voyage is written by Dionise Settle (Pinkerton, vol. xii. p. 494), and a second account (p. 514 of the same). Accounts of the third voyage may be perused in vol. xii. of Pinkerton, p. 504 and p. 532, the former by Thomas Ellis.

sailed with three vessels, the *Aide* of 180 tons, and the *Gabriel* and *Michael;* but the voyage was brief, and resulted only in the discovery of what is now known as Fox Land. Again, for the third time, on the 25th May 1578, Sir Martin Frobisher sailed from England with a fleet of five ships, the intention being to found a colony; but after encountering severe weather, he returned home at the end of September, without making any discovery of note.*

In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 'that devout gentleman and philosopher,' who was half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, renewed the attempt to discover a North-west Passage without result. On the 7th June, two years later, Captain John Davis sailed from Dartmouth for the Arctic Seas, with two small craft, the *Sunshine*, of fifty tons and twenty-three men, and *Moonshine*, of thirty-five tons and nineteen men. In August he entered the strait named after him, discovered Cumberland Island and Strait, and named Mount Raleigh, Totness Road, Exeter Sound, and Capes Diero and Walsingham, returning to Dartmouth by the 29th September. On the following 7th May, he again sailed with the same ships, and a vessel of 120 tons called the *Mermaid* and a pinnace of ten tons, and proceeded up the strait about eighty leagues in the *Moonshine*, returning to Dartmouth on the 6th October, without having made any important discoveries. In May of the following year, Davis for the third time, attempted the North-west Passage with three vessels, the *Elizabeth*, *Sunshine*, and *Helena*, and attained a point eight degrees within the Arctic Circle. He

* The principal officers of this expedition were Frobisher, admiral or general, Yorke, vice-admiral, and Fenton, lieutenant-general. There were also embarked 100 colonists.

arrived at Dartmouth on the 15th September, 1587, having, as he says in a letter to Mr. Sanderson (see Hakluyt) 'bene in 73°, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues between land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easie.' As mentioned by Sir John Barrow, Davis discovered the strait which bears the name of Hudson, and named Cape Chidley.

The end of this intrepid navigator was tragic. After making no less than five voyages to the East Indies in the service of the Dutch, says Prince, in his 'Worthies of Devon,' Davis sailed on the 13th February, 1600, as pilot-major to the first squadron fitted out by the East India Company, under the command of Captain Lancaster, consisting of the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, Captain John Middleton (vice-admiral), *Ascension*, *Susan*, and *Guest*. Of this expedition accounts are given by Purchas (vol. iii.), Harris (vol. i.), and in the Hakluyt Society's volume for 1878. The expedition returned to the Downs on the 11th September, 1603, and in the following year, Davis sailed with Sir Edward Mitchelborne, for China and Japan, as pilot on board the *Tiger;* but on the 27th December, 1605, was killed in an action with Japanese junks.*

Passing over the fictitious voyage of the Spanish navigator, Maldonado, who, says Antonio, in the 'Bibliotheca Hispana,' made the North-west Passage in the year 1588, we come to the singular account of the voyage made four years later, by Juan de Fuca, who proceeded from the Pacific Coast of Mexico for the purpose of making the passage, and actually entered the Straits which bear his name, between Vancouver's Island and the American Continent (see Purchas, vol. iii.).

* See Purchas, vol. i. book iii. p. 132; and Harris's 'Collection,' vol. i. p. 55.

The next to attempt the solution of the problem of finding a North-east Passage to India and China, following the course of Sir Hugh Willoughby, were Arthur Pet, who had served with Chancellor on board the *Edward Bonaventura*, in his expedition under Willoughby, and Charles Jackman, who was one of Martin Frobisher's officers in his second voyage, and is mentioned by Drayton in his 'Polyolbion :'

> 'The noble Fenton next and Jackman we prefer,
> Both voyagers that were with famous Frobisher.'

The daring navigators sought to make the North-west Passage in two vessels, called the *George* and *William*, of, respectively, forty tons, with a crew of nineteen and a boy, and twenty tons, with five men and a boy. No discovery of importance was made, but they penetrated the strait, since called after Pet, between the mainland and Waaigat Island, the strait between the latter and Nova Zembla having been discovered by Burrough in 1556. The two ships penetrated into the Kara Sea, but parted company on the 22nd August, when the *William* was never heard of again, but the *George* reached England in safety with Pet on board.

To the Dutch and Russian seamen exploration in this portion of the Arctic area is chiefly due. A native of Holland, by name Brunel, followed in Burrough's footsteps to Nova Zembla, but the most daring and successful explorer of this nation was undoubtedly William Barentz who made three voyages of discovery.* On the 4th June, 1594, he sailed for the Texel in the *Mercurius*, a vessel of 100 tons, with a fishing-boat as

* For Barentz's voyages see Forster's 'Northern Voyages;' vol. iii. of 'Purchas, his Pilgrimes;' and 'True and Perfect Description of Three Voyages,' translated by W. Phillip in 1609, from the account of the Dutchman De Veer.

tender, and pushing through the pack-ice with great determination, on the 31st July reached the Orange Islands, off the northern coast of Nova Zembla, having named the chief points on the coast between the Islands and Cape Nassau. On the 16th September Barentz arrived off Amsterdam with his two vessels.

In the following year we find him pilot-major of a fleet despatched, under Cornelis Nai, to the Arctic Seas, but nothing was achieved. Encouraged by the offer of a large reward to the discoverers of a North-east Passage, some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out two ships, which were placed under the command of Jacob Van Heemskirck and Jan Cornelis Rijp, who had sailed as supercargoes in the previous expedition. Barentz accompanied Heemskirck as pilot-major, and Gerrit de Veer, who wrote an interesting narrative of the voyage, entered as second mate. The Dutchmen sailed on the 13th May, 1596, and sighting, in 74° 30′, an island which was called Bear Island, in ten days later they discovered Spitzbergen, which they supposed to be Greenland.

On the 1st July, the ships separated at Bear Island, Rijp returning to Holland, and Barentz continued his voyage to the eastward, with the intention of reaching Cathay. On the 17th July he sighted Nova Zembla, and on the 19th named Cross Island, where he found two of those symbols of the Christian religion. Barentz rounded the north point of Nova Zembla, and on the 26th August was compelled to secure his vessel in Ice Haven, where they passed the winter 'in great cold, poverty, miserie, and griefe.' On the 11th September, Barentz, who was the real commander, decided to land, as the ship was subjected to great pressure from the ice, and commenced to build a hut from the driftwood in the bay, which was completed about the end of October.

Their sufferings during the winter were intense, and five of the seventeen men who landed died of scurvy. At length, on the 13th June, 1597, they quitted their dismal abode, in two boats they had built with the debris of driftwood; but Barentz had long been ill, and died on the 20th June. De Veer tells the incident with a simple pathos: 'Claes Adrianson began to be extreme sicke, whereby we perceived that he would not live long, and the boateson came into our scute (boat) and told us in what state he was, and that he could not long continue alive; whereupon William Barentz spoke and said, "I think I shall not live long after him;" and yet we did not judge William Barentz to be so sicke, for we sat talking one with the other, and spoke of many things, and William Barentz read in my chart which I had made touching our voyage. At last he laid away the chart and said to me, "Gerrit, give me some drinke;" and he had no sooner drank, but he was taken with so sodain a qualme, that he turned his eies in his head presently, and we had no time to call the maister out of the other scute to speake unto him, and so he died before Claes Adrianson, who died shortly after. The death of William Barentz put us in no small discomfort, as being the chief guide and onely pilot on whom we reposed ourselves, next unto God;' but, adds the narrator with a simple piety, 'we could not strive against God, and therefore we must of force be content.'

The survivors of the little band of intrepid Dutch navigators, struggled on in their miserable boats, which, though of inferior construction, successfully buffeted the stormy seas of these high latitudes for three long months. No more remarkable tale of endurance and stubborn pertinacity is told in Arctic annals, than that afforded by

these poor fellows who suffered nearly all the privations human nature is heir to. As Byron says of the survivors of another shipwreck:

> 'Famine, despair, cold, disease and want had done
> Their work on them by turns, and thinn'd them to
> Such things, a mother had not known her son
> Amidst the skeletons of that gaunt crew.'

The survivors made their way along the west coast of Nova Zembla, and after a voyage of 1143 miles, reached the coast of Lapland, where they were rescued by Jan Cornelis Rijp, and arrived a few weeks later in Holland.*

Among important discoveries in the north-east was that made by Captain Thomas Edge who, while in command of some ships belonging to the Muscovy Company, in the year 1617, 'discovered to the eastward of Spitzbergen, as far to the northward as 79°, an island which he named Wilkes Island,' after a merchant of that name, which was not seen again until the year 1864, when another Englishman, Mr. Birkbeck, sighted it; but the first to reach the land were three Norwegian captains, in 1872. Of notable voyages made by Dutch navigators, mention should be made of that of William de Vlamingh in 1664, who rounded the northern extremity of Nova Zembla, and claims having sailed in a north-westerly direction from this point as far as 82° N.

* The Dutch discoveries and losses were commemorated in 1878 by three tombstones, having the following inscriptions, despatched in the schooner *William Barentz*, of the Dutch Arctic Expedition: 'In Memoriam. Spitzbergen, or New Land, discovered by the Dutch up to 79° 30′ N. lat. Here in 1633-1634, Jacob Seegerz, of Middelburg, and six others passed the winter. Here in 1634-1635, Andriez Jansz, of Middelburg, and six others passed the winter, and died.' 'In Memoriam. House of Refuge, Yshaven. Here, from August 26th, 1595, to June 13th, 1596, William Barends, Jakob Heemskerch, Gerrit de Veer, and fourteen other Dutch navigators passed the winter.' 'In Memoriam. Cape Nassau, discovered by the Dutch navigator William Barends, July 10th, 1594.'

lat., though, as Captain Albert Markham, R.N., says in his recent work, 'A Polar Reconnaissance,' had he done so, he must have sighted Franz Josef Land, a discovery made two centuries later by an officer of another nationality, and one of equal importance with that of Barentz. The Russians, who, from their position, are doubtless justified in claiming the honour of being among the first to take the field in Arctic exploration, made some discoveries in Nova Zembla, and on the 14th August, 1768, Lieutenant Rossmysloff entered the Matyushin Shar, the narrow strait, sixty miles in length, separating the two islands of Nova Zembla, which he afterwards surveyed. Between the years 1820-24, another Russian officer, Lutke, spent four summers surveying the west coast of these islands, and Captain Markham—who visited Nova Zembla in 1880, in company with Sir Gore Booth, in the steam yacht *Isbjorn*, and rounding the Orange Islands, planted the British flag for the first time to the northward of Nova Zembla—testifies to the accuracy of the survey made by this officer.

During the fourteen succeeding years between 1824-38, the Russian Government sent other surveying expeditions to these islands and the Kara Sea. Norwegian seamen have long explored Arctic seas, but it was not until 1869 that they performed any service of consequence to geographical science. In that year Carlsen sailed through Pet Strait, and reached White Island at the mouth of the Obi river, and others followed in his wake and circumnavigated Nova Zembla; but in 1871 Carlsen made the interesting discovery of the hut in Ice Haven in which the gallant Barentz breathed his last in 1597, nearly three centuries before. He describes the hut as thirty-two feet long and twenty broad, and within he found the bed places, the bath constructed out of a

wine-barrel, and the Dutch clock, of which 'the dial plate was missing, but the works were perfect, though rusty.' Among other relics were a flute, the shoes of a poor boy who died during the winter, the ship's ensign, and some mathematical instruments, all of which are now deposited in the Naval Museum at the Hague, in a house constructed on the model of that of Barentz.

The three discoveries of the first importance in this portion of the Polar area, were those of Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, and Franz Josef Land, and the last was only achieved within recent years. On the 13th June, 1872, two Austrian officers, Lieutenants Weyprecht and Payer—the latter, a military officer, who had accompanied Koldewey in 1867 on the east coast of Greenland—sailed from Bremerhaven in the *Tegetthof*, a steamer of 300 tons burden, with provisions and stores for three years; the crew consisted of twenty-four men, and included as ice-pilot the experienced Norwegian navigator Carlsen. The cutter *Isbjorn* formed a depôt of supplies, and they parted company on the 20th August; but the same day the *Tegetthof* was beset with the ice, and thus imprisoned the officers and crew drifted helplessly to the north-east for two long weary years. But they were amply repaid for all their sufferings and privations by the discovery of land on the 31st August, 1873, which was christened amid festive rejoicings and congratulations after their sovereign, Francis Joseph, of Austria-Hungary. Drifting in before the end of October, they were enabled to land on an island in 79° 54′, which they called after Count Wilczek, the promoter of the expedition. After passing a second Polar night of 125 days, on the 10th March, 1874, a sledge-party was formed and explored Hall Island; a second expedition proceeded 160 miles from the ship to 82° 5′

along the coast of Crown Prince Rudolf Land; and a third sledge party left on the 29th April, to explore the western portions of Franz Josef Land. But to stay a third year in these regions would have involved the destruction of them all, as their provisions would then have been finished, so it was determined to abandon the ship, and prosecute no further the exploration of this unknown land, whose terrors were such as Milton describes:

> 'A frozen continent
> Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
> Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
> Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruins seem
> Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice.'

Accordingly, on the 20th May, the *Tegetthof* was abandoned, and the crew left with seven sledges, on four of which boats were placed with sufficient food to last for 150 days. Such was the arduous nature of their labour, that at the end of two months they were only eight miles distant from the ship; but they toiled on, and on the 14th August came to open water in 77° 40′, and launched their boats. On the 18th they reached Nova Zembla, and six days later were taken on board by a Russian schooner which took them to Vardo, whence they found their way in a steamer to Hamburg.

Mention should here be made of the enterprise of a countryman, Captain Wiggins, who, in 1874, passing through Burrough Strait, navigated the Kara Sea, beyond Nova Zembla; and in the following year, the now famous Swedish professor, Nordenskiold, threaded the Pet Strait to the south, and pushed on as far as the Yenisei, whence he returned overland. In 1876 Nordenskiold again entered the Kara Sea; and on the 7th May, 1878, a Dutch vessel, the *William Barentz*, schooner, commanded by Lieutenant de Bruyere, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Beynon, sailed from

Amsterdam, and having visited Jan Mayen Island and Spitzbergen, passed through the Matyushin Shar, between the two islands of Nova Zembla, and visited the Barentz Islands and Cape Nassau, but were unable to fulfil in its entirety the object of their mission, which was to erect stones on Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, recording their discovery by their countryman Barentz. The crowning act of discovery and daring enterprise in the north-east was achieved by Professor Nordenskiold and Captain Palander, who rounded the most northerly point of Asia, Cape Chelyuskin, and passing through Behring Straits and the Suez Canal, returned to their native land, having completed the circumnavigation which had been attempted in vain for three centuries. Return we to the north-west, the more time-honoured but, as many think, the less promising way to the North Pole.

Proceeding where we digressed, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, we will only note the voyage made in 1602 by George Weymouth, which was a complete failure, as he made no discoveries. Four years later occurred Captain John Knight's voyage to the Arctic regions, to seek the North-west Passage, of which accounts appear in Purchas's 'Pilgrimes,' and in the volume of the Hakluyt Society for 1877, edited by Mr. Clements Markham, the original MS. of which was found in the India Office, whence several journals of the early voyages of the ships of the East India Company were abstracted, one of great importance, relating to the eighth voyage, that undertaken by Captain John Saris, with the ships *Clove*, *Hector*, and *James*, in 1611, during which he established an English factory in Japan having been purchased from a bookseller at Bristol.

Captain Knight, who was in the service of the 'Wor-

shipful Companies of Muscovy and the East India Merchants,' sailed from the Orkneys on the 12th May, 1606, in the *Hopewell*, of forty tons, and sighted the coast of Labrador on the 19th June in 56° 48′; on the 26th he landed with the mate and four men on an island, but was never seen again, only the 'shallop' and two boat-keepers returning to the ship. Sir John Barrow places the scene of this tragic ending near Cape Grinnington. On the following 9th July, James Hall sighted the coast two degrees further to the northward, when on his second Greenland voyage. James Hall and Knight had sailed together in an expedition despatched by the King of Denmark from Copenhagen, with the object of exploring Greenland, in May, 1605, under John Cunningham, and they named Capes Cunningham, Sophia and Anne, and King Christian's Fiord on its west coast. In 1612 Hall took command of an expedition to Greenland despatched from Hull, the account of which has been written by William Baffin, but was murdered on the 23rd July, and buried on one of the islands named after Knight.

In 1607 Henry Hudson, called the 'North Sea's Great Columbus,' attempted, under the auspices of the Muscovy Company, to reach Cathay by the North Pole, in the *Hopewell*, having a crew of ten men and a boy; but returned in September, having explored the east coast of Greenland, and penetrated to 81° N. lat., where he saw land 'trending north in our sight, stretching far into 82°.' On the following 22nd April, Hudson, with a crew of fourteen men, attempted this impossible feat by the North-east Passage in the track of Barentz, but after sighting the coast of Nova Zembla in about 72° 40′, near Cape Britwin, returned to England, the most remarkable discovery he made on this voyage

being without doubt a mermaid, which he fully describes. (See Purchas, vol. iii. p. 575.)

Hudson made a third voyage in the service of the Dutch, of which an account is given by Robert Ivet, when he discovered the Hudson River, where the Dutch afterwards founded a colony. Finally, in the following year he sailed on his fourth and last voyage, this time again in the service of the Muscovy Company. Hudson left the Thames on the 17th April, 1610, in the *Discovery*, of fifty-five tons, and sailed through the strait and bay called after him, which he explored. In November the ship was frozen in, and they wintered on shore. In June they got afloat again, but provisions falling short, the crew became mutinous, and on the 21st June, 1611, sent adrift in a boat, Hudson, his son, and seven men, who were never heard of again. As the poet says of the tragic fate of this great navigator:

> 'Of all the sea shapes death has worn may mariners never know
> Such fate as Hendrik Hudson found in the labyrinths of snow.'

The mutineers did not escape the retribution that often dogs the footsteps of great criminals; the ringleader, one Greene, whose benefactor Hudson had been, and three men were killed by the Esquimaux near Cape Digges; the mate, Robert Ivet, died, and the survivors returned to England in a famishing condition. On their arrival with a plausible tale (of which one Prickett is the author), which may be found in vol. iii. of Purchas, the Muscovy Company sent Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Button, with the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, the latter commanded by Captain Ingram, to search for Hudson, but without success. Button discovered Nelson's River and Capes Southampton and Pembroke, and returned to England in the autumn of 1613.

In the following year Captain Gibbon made an unsuccessful voyage, and in 1615 Robert Bylot, who had sailed with Hudson, Button, and Gibbon, proceeded to the north in the *Discovery*, with a crew of fourteen men and two boys. The voyage was destitute of interest, but in 1616 he again sailed in the *Discovery*, with the famous Arctic navigator, Baffin, as his pilot, with the object of reaching Japan by the coast of Greenland.

They sailed on the 19th April, with a crew of seventeen men, and passing Davis's farthest on the 30th May, sighted and named Digges Cape, Wolstenhohal Sound, Whale Sound, Hakluyt Island, and Cary's Island. Thus they sailed into and explored the vast bay, or rather sea, 800 miles long and 300 broad, named after Baffin, and discovered the channel which was named Smith Sound, after Sir Thomas Smith, chairman of the East India Company, that famous passage by which almost every important attempt, with the exception of Parry's, has been made to reach the North Pole.* Standing to the south-westward, on the 10th July they saw the entrance of a sound which Baffin named after Sir James Lancaster, who had commanded the East India

* Many other voyages were made during the two first decades of the seventeenth century. One Barrett proceeded in 1603 to Bear Island, which he renamed Cherry Island; Weldon sailed to Lapland and Cherry Island in 1605, 1606, and 1608; and in 1610, Jonas Poole proceeded in the *Amity*, of seventy tons, on a voyage of discovery towards the North Pole. He reached as high as 79° 50′ (see his journals in Purchas, vol. iii.) The Muscovy Company also sent Stephen Blunt in the following year 'for the killing of the whale,' and Poole, who accompanied him in the *Elizabeth* and two other vessels, reached as high as 80°. In 1612, Poole proceeded with two ships, the *Whale* and *Seahorse*, belonging to the Muscovy Company, who, in the succeeding year, sent six more 'a-whaling,' in one of which was Baffin, who, in 1614, accompanied Fotherby in a fleet of ten ships, and again in 1615 sailed in the *Richard*, of twenty tons, on a voyage of discovery.

Company's ships, and had they entered it, would have anticipated the discoveries of Parry by two centuries.

It is wonderful, considering the size of the vessel, the miserable way in which it was found, and the number of the crew, what was accomplished on this most memorable of Arctic voyages; even the latitudes laid down by Baffin in his chart have been verified by the observations of more recent explorers, while the accuracy of his statement that Smith's Sound was a channel, and that he had been as high as 78°, which were derided by Pinkerton, who calls him a bold impostor (see vol. xvii. p. 26), have been established by later discoveries. Unfortunately our knowledge of this important voyage is but incomplete, as 'Purchas,' says Dalrymple, 'has unpardonably omitted publishing Baffin's original map, which, as well as his journal, he had in his possession.'

Baffin perished at the siege of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, in the year 1622, when that island fell to the combined arms of the King of Persia and the ships of the East India Company.* Than Hudson and Baffin, Arctic

* Several of the originals of the voyages of these ships of the Company have disappeared, but in the year 1625, Purchas published, in four vols., his 'Pilgrimes,' an abridged account of the first twenty voyages. His predecessor in the charge of the Company's historical and geographical documents, 1600-16, was the famous Richard Hakluyt, Archdeacon of Westminster. It should here be noted that the Dutch, 'who,' says Purchas, 'in the glory of navigation are so neere to us,' usually employed English pilots for their fleets. Davis has already been mentioned, and William Adams proceeded in the year 1598 as master-pilot of the Dutch expedition of five ships, despatched under the command of Admiral Maher and Simon de Cordes to the East Indies through the Strait of Magellan, of which only the *Faith* returned to Holland under command of Sebald de Wert, and the *Fidelity* under De Cordes was cast on the coast of Japan. Adams, the first Englishman to visit Japan, was retained by the king on account of his skill in ship-building, and was the means of introducing European trade; Captain Saris, as already

annals show few brighter names in the long and glorious scroll of those who have penetrated into the mysterious and silent regions where ice and snow hold eternal reign, and where the *aurora borealis*,

> 'The radiant host,
> In thick profusion pour'd, shine out immense,
> Each casting vivid influence on each,
> From pole to pole a glittering deluge plays.'

The next Arctic voyage was undertaken in 1631, by Luke Fox, who sailed in the *Charles*, of eighty tons, so called after Charles I., who gave him a letter to the Emperor of Japan. He named 'Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome,' after one of his patrons, and explored Hudson's Bay. James also made a voyage in the same year, in the *Maria*, of seventy tons; and in 1676, the Admiralty despatched the *Speedwell* and *Prosperous* from the Nore, under the command of Captains Wood and Flawes, with the object of discovering the North-east Passage. They reached as high as 75° 59′; but being turned back by the ice-pack, stood over to Nova Zembla, where the *Speedwell* was lost.* During the remainder of the century, no further attempts were made by English seamen to penetrate the Polar area.

In a preceding chapter we have described the Russian explorations on the northern shore of the Asiatic continent, extending over 145° of longitude; how in 1646, some merchants, and again in 1648, Deshnief, sailed to

noted, being the first Englishman to establish a factory here. (See Purchas, vol. i., and Harris, vol. i.)

* An account of this voyage may be found in the Introduction to the 'Journal of a Voyage to Discover the North-east Passage, under the command of the Hon. Commodore Phipps and Captain Skiffington Lutwych, in H.M.'s ship, *Racehorse* and *Carcase*' (see vol. iv. of 'Historical Account of all the Voyages round the World performed by English Navigators,' 1783).

the eastward of the Kolyma, and arrived on the other side of the strait dividing Asia from America—which has properly received the name of Behring, as Deshnief, in all probability, went overland—and founded a settlement on the Anadyr River. Other expeditions followed; the Bear Islands were seen, and in 1711 a party crossed the ice from Siberia to the Likahoff Islands. In this year also Peter Sin Popow travelled to Behring Straits, and speaks of an island which the natives called the 'Great Country,' which is doubtless America. Peter the Great was much interested in the subject, but the more pressing cares of government prevented him from prosecuting the question, to which his attention had first been drawn in 1717, when he was in Holland. In his last illness he enjoined the work of exploration upon his successor; and during the reign of the Empress Catherine, in 1728, in 1731, and again in 1734, the Russian Admiralty fitted out expeditions—in the latter year no less than three—'to obtain a correct knowledge of the northern coasts of Siberia, from the White Sea to Behring's Straits.' 'One, consisting of two vessels, was to sail from Archangel eastward, to the mouth of the Obi; another from the Obi to the Yenisei; and the third, eastward past the Kolyma, to Behring's Straits.'* These expeditions ended in failure, owing to sickness, shipwreck, and insurmountable impediments to navigation; and in 1739, a second attempt was made by Lieutenant Laptieff, who, by dint of perseverance in four successive voyages, succeeded in passing to the eastward of the Kolyma.

In 1739 also two ships, under Captain Martin Spangberg and Lieutenant William Walton, sailed from Siberia

* For a full account of these explorations, see Coxe's 'Account of Russian Discoveries.'

and the Kurile Islands to ascertain the exact relative position of Japan, and both these officers reached the Island of Niphon, being thus the first Russian seamen to cross the tracks of other Europeans in these seas.

In 1741 took place the last and most famous voyage of Captain Behring, when his ship was wrecked, and he and most of his crew perished miserably. In 1760, Schalaroff made a similar attempt and perished of starvation with all his crew on the desolate coast, seventy miles east of Cape Chelyuskin. Various other expeditions for the exploration of the Polar Seas were despatched from Russia, the Bear Islands were surveyed, and in 1771 the group of islands called New Siberia were discovered.

Passing over the record of Billing's Expedition, despatched in 1787 by the Russians, on account of Captain Cook's discoveries, but which, as well as later ones, ended in failure, we come to the noted sledging-parties of 1820-23, led by Von Wrangell and Anjou, the former starting from the mouth of the Kolyma, and the latter from the Lena. These expeditions, undertaken by orders of the Emperor Alexander, were conducted with an admirable courage and perseverance, and rewarded with considerable success, Von Wrangell in the fourth journey reaching 70° 51′ N. lat., and 175° 27′ W. long., a distance of 105 versts from the mainland.

The British Government continued their attempts to complete the task of Arctic exploration. An expedition of two ships, commanded by Barlow and Vaughan, with Knight in supreme charge, was fitted out by the Hudson's Bay Company, and sailed in 1719, but it never returned. On the 22nd June, 1722, the Company despatched from Churchill River a vessel called the

Whalebone, commanded by Captain Scroggs, to search for the ill-fated expedition of Barlow and Vaughan, but without success; and it was not until the year 1769 that some of the Company's fishing-boats found the wrecks of the vessels, named the *Albany* and *Discovery*, upon Marble Island. Samuel Hearne, who was present, gives a touching account of the sufferings and death of these poor fellows, as derived from the Esquimaux he met in his journey from Prince of Wales's Island to the Northern Ocean.

In 1741, Government despatched Captain Middleton, of the Hudson's Bay Company's Service, with the *Furnace* and *Discovery*, who, entering Frozen Strait, named the bay beyond, Repulse Bay. In 1746, Captains W. Moor and F. Smith sailed in the *Dobbs*, of 180 tons, and *California*, of 140, and an account of the voyage is given by Henry Ellis. Three years before, an Act of Parliament—due to the agitation of Mr. Arthur Dobbs—was passed offering a reward of £20,000 to anyone who should make the North-west Passage from Hudson's Straits.

Passing, with brief mention, Samuel Hearne's successful attempt, in 1769-72, to reach the Polar Seas by the Coppermine River (see his 'Journey from Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean'), though Sir John Barrow and other writers throw doubt on his having reached the sea, and the not less remarkable descent of the Mackenzie River by Mr. A. Mackenzie, also of the Hudson Bay Company's Service, in 1789, from Lake Athabascar to the Polar Ocean, of which he gives an account in his 'Voyage from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans'—we come to the Arctic voyage undertaken by Captain Hon. C. J. Phipps, R.N. (afterwards Lord

Mulgrave), on the recommendation of the Royal Society.* On the 10th June, 1773, Captain Phipps sailed from the Nore with the *Racehorse* and *Carcase*, the latter under the command of Captain Skiffington Lutwych, and coasting the eastern shore of Spitzbergen to 80° 48′, returned in September of the same year.*

We have told how, on the 13th July, 1772, Captain Cook left England on his second voyage with the object of exploring the Antarctic regions; and again how, in 1776,

* Mr. Joseph Moxon, F.R.S., in a paper in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' gives the following conversation he had with a seaman he met in Amsterdam: 'We, by order of the Greenland Company, sailed into the North Pole and came back again. He told me moreover that they had sailed two degrees beyond the Pole. I asked him if they found no land or islands about the Pole. He answered, No, there was a free and open sea. I asked him if they did not meet with a great deal of ice. He told me, No, they saw no ice about the Pole. I asked him what weather they had there. He told me, fine, warm weather, such as was at Amsterdam, and as hot. I believe the steersman spoke the truth, for he seemed a plain, honest and unaffected person, and one who could have no design upon me.' Another report was made to Charles II. by Captain Goulden, a Greenland whaler, who spoke two Dutch ships 'that had sailed within one degree of the Pole, where they met with no ice, but a hollow grown sea, like that in the Bay of Biscay.' When, in 1670, application was made to the States-General for a charter of incorporation for a company of merchants trading to China and Japan by the North-east Passage, 'it was talked of in Holland as a matter of no difficulty to sail to Japan by the way of Greenland; and it was publicly asserted and believed that several Dutch ships had actually done so. The merchants being required to verify this fact, desired that the journals of the Greenland squadron of 1655 might be produced; in seven of which there was notice taken of a ship which that year had sailed as high as the latitude of 89°, and three journals of that ship being produced, they all agreed as to one observation taken by the master, August 1, 1655, in 88° 56′ north. The fallacy of the existence of an open Polar sea, which has found many advocates, has finally been exploded by the last expedition of Sir George Nares.

* For an account of this voyage see vol. i. of Pinkerton's 'Collection of Voyages,' and also Harris's Collection, and Captain Phipps' 'Voyage round the North Pole.'

the same great navigator proceeded on his last voyage with the *Discovery* and *Resolution* to Behring's Strait, with instructions to seek a passage thence to Baffin's Bay, Parliament having in that year amended the act by which a reward was offered for a north-west passage, so as to include any 'northern passage.' Captain Cook named the western extremity of the American continent, Cape of Prince of Wales, and the extreme north point he attained, in 70° 29′, was called Icy Cape.

During the long period of wars, beginning with the prolonged contest between this country and her American colonies between the years 1776-82, and ending with the sanguinary conflict which commenced in 1793 and was not finally concluded until 1815—during this period, between the last voyage of Cook and the expeditions of Franklin and Parry, Arctic enterprise slumbered, and the entire energies of this country were bent in bringing to a successful conclusion the life-and-death struggle with the mighty soldier who conquered almost all Europe. But no sooner were the seamen of the British navy free to devote their energies to other pursuits than slaughtering their country's enemies, than Arctic discovery, with its dangers and enchanting possibilities, exercised its old sway, and Pope's apostrophe to the ubiquitous British men-of-war received a fresh illustration:

> 'Bear Britain's thunder and her cross display
> To the bright regions of the rising day;
> Tempt icy seas, where scarce the waters roll,
> Where clearer flames glow round the frozen pole;
> Or under southern skies exalt their sails,
> Led by new stars, or borne by spicy gales.'

CHAPTER XII.

Voyages of Captain Edward Parry—His Discoveries in the Polar Basin—First Expedition of Sir John Franklin, accompanied by Richardson and Back—His second Expedition and Discoveries—Beechey's Explorations from Behring's Straits—Sir Edward Parry attains 82° 45′, the furthest Point North—Captain Ross discovers the Magnetic Pole—Back's Expedition in search of Ross's Party—His Explorations—Back's Voyage in the *Terror*—Last Voyage of Sir John Franklin in the *Erebus* and *Terror*—Expeditions in Search of Franklin—Arctic Explorations of Kellett, Collinson, McClintock and Sherard Osborn—Sir Robert McClure achieves the North-west Passage to the Point attained by Parry in 1819—Successful Expedition of Lieutenant Schwatka—Rival Claims of Franklin and McClure to the Honour of Discovering the North-west Passage—Explorations of the Polar Area by Drs. Kane and Hayes—Voyages of Koldewey, Heuglin, Carlsen, Weyprecht and Payer—Voyage of Captain Hall, and Abandonment of the *Polaris*—Sir George Nares' Expedition to reach the Pole—Later Voyages of Polar Exploration—Professor Nordenskiold circumnavigates Europe and Asia—Conclusion.

In October, 1776, a clause was inserted in the Act of 1743, offering a reward of £5000 to any British subject who should penetrate within the Arctic Circle to 110° W. long., a reward which was gained by Lieutenant Parry, who attained that point on the 4th September, 1819. In the previous year, under the auspices of the Royal Society and the Government, this famous Arctic officer had accompanied Captain John Ross in a vain attempt, made in the *Isabella* and the *Alexander*, to accomplish the North-west Passage. A second expedition of two ships, the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, under Captains Buchan and

Franklin, of which Lieutenant Beechey gives a narrative, attempted to reach the North Pole by Spitzbergen. Then followed, in May, 1819, the expedition referred to above, consisting of H.M.'s ships *Hecla* and *Griper*, under Captain Edward Parry, who had as his associates such scientific officers as Lieutenant Buckly and Captain Sabine, R.A. Parry named and explored Prince Regent Inlet, and also discovered Cornwallis, Lord Bathurst, and Melville Islands, where he wintered. Passing through Barrow Strait and Lancaster Sound in the following August, he surveyed a portion of the shore of Baffin's Bay, and arrived in England in November, after having achieved many important scientific results. Captain Parry has given a most interesting account of this voyage; among the means taken to amuse the officers was the establishment of a weekly newspaper, called, after the groups of islands he had named, *The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle*, and among the contributions to this interesting venture were articles and pieces of poetry of no mean literary excellence.

The results of this voyage were so cheering, that on the 8th May, 1821, Captain Parry again sailed with the same ships, Lieutenant Lyon being in command of the *Hecla*, with instructions to try and effect the North-west Passage by Repulse Bay, a lower latitude than Melville Island, where the ice-barrier had been found to be impracticable. But the result of this exploration of Repulse Bay proved that there was no outlet. Parry wintered at a spot he called Winter Island, and in the following summer resumed his explorations. The winter of 1822 was passed at Igloolik, and the ships returned to England in the ensuing autumn. In May, 1824, Parry made his third voyage with the same ships, but the ice formed so early this year that he was forced

to winter at Port Bowen, on the eastern shore of Regent's Inlet, without having made any discoveries.

In the following year he was equally unsuccessful, and the *Fury* received such serious injuries from the pressure of the ice that Parry was forced to abandon her, taking on board the *Hecla* Captain Hoppner and his crew, and returned to England. At the same time that Parry sailed on his third and least successful voyage, Captain Lyon sailed in the *Griper* with the object of proceeding by Hudson's Strait to Repulse Bay, discovered by Middleton in 1741, and explored the coast of the mainland between Melville Peninsula and Point Turnagain, Franklin's furthest; but after narrowly escaping destruction, he found himself compelled to return to England without entering Repulse Bay.

In September, 1819, Captain Franklin proceeded on an overland expedition from York Factory, Hudson's Bay, with the object of exploring the north coast of America to its eastern extremity, from the mouth of the Coppermine River. His party consisted of Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Richardson, two midshipmen, Mr. (the late Sir George) Back and Mr. Hood, a seaman named Hepburn, and sixteen Canadian voyageurs. In July, 1820, they left Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca for Fort Enterprise on Winter Lake, a distance of over 500 miles, where they passed the winter, during which Mr. Back walked no less than 1,100 miles in five months in snow-shoes. In June, 1821, the whole party proceeded to the Coppermine and traversed it to the sea. Hence they followed the coast a distance of 555 geographical miles, but owing to want of provisions, were compelled to retrace their steps, ultimately reaching York Factory in July, 1822. The sufferings of this party during their lengthened explorations, extending for a period of three

years and over a distance of 5,550 miles, were almost unparalleled; on one occasion they subsisted for eighteen days on skins and bones, and rock tripe, a species of lichen, and even ate 'the remains of their old shoes and whatever scraps of leather they had'—recalling the sufferings of Don Juan and his shipmates in the open boat, when they shared

'Some leathern caps, and what remain'd of shoes.'

Five of the voyageurs died: Mr. Hood was murdered by Michel, an Iroquois, whom Dr. Richardson shot in self-defence; and that any survived was due, under Providence, to Mr. Back, who journeyed on and sent relief when they were at the last extremity.

Nothing daunted by his failure and great sufferings, Sir John Franklin, accompanied as before by Richardson and Back, and by Messrs. Kendall and Drummond, arrived at Fort Chipewyan in July, 1825, with the object of descending the Mackenzie River and exploring the coast eastward to the Coppermine, and westward to the Icy Cape of Captain Cook, or if possible to Kotzebue Sound, so called after an officer despatched by the Russian Government in 1815, with the object of making the North-east Passage through Behring's Strait, but whose researches to the northward of that strait were limited to exploring the large inlet named after him, which lies between Cape Prince of Wales and Cape Lisburne, discovered by Captain Cook in 1778.

Franklin made a preliminary exploration from Fort Norman on the left bank of the Mackenzie in 1825, and in the following year descended that river, when the party divided, each provided with two boats, Franklin and Back exploring to the west, with the hope of effecting a junction with Captain Beechey in the *Blossom*, and

Richardson and Kendall to the east. The latter explorers sailed 500 miles, or 902 by the coast-line, made many discoveries, such as Booth Island, Cape Lyon, Croker River, and on the 21st September rejoined Franklin at Fort Franklin. Franklin and Back started on the 3rd July, proceeded on to a spot he named Return Reef, a distance of 374 miles over an unexplored coast, and beyond the boundary-line which separated the British from the Russian territories (now ceded to the Americans). They left Return Reef on the 18th August, but little knew that only a distance of 160 miles intervened between them and a party of their countrymen. Franklin says: 'Could I have known, or by possibility imagined, that a party from the *Blossom* had been at the distance of only 160 miles from me, no difficulties, dangers, or discouraging circumstances should have prevailed on me to return; but taking into account the uncertainty of all voyages in a sea obstructed by ice, I had no right to expect that the *Blossom* had advanced beyond Kotzebue Inlet, or that any party from her had doubled Icy Cape.'

Captain Beechey, here referred to, had sailed from England on the 19th May, 1825, with instructions to proceed by Cape Horn, and passing through Behring's Strait, to arrive at Chamisso Island, in Kotzebue Sound, about the 10th July, 1826, and there wait for Franklin. He actually reached Behring Island on that date, and anchored in Kotzebue Sound on the 25th July; but finding no signs of Franklin's party, the *Blossom* sailed to the northward, and naming Capes Thomson, Beaufort, Franklin, and Smyth, passed the Icy Cape of Captain Cook, and surveyed by boat 125 miles of new coast, as far as a headland to which he gave the name of Cape Barrow, whence he returned to the southward.

Beechey's farthest is situated in 71° 25′ N. lat., and the tract of coast-line between this point and Franklin's farthest, to which he gave the name of Point Beechey, was later traversed by that intrepid explorer Captain McClure. After a cruise in the Pacific, Beechey returned to Chamisso Island in August, 1827, but hearing nothing of Franklin, sailed for England.

About this time a project was set on foot for reaching the Pole by means of flat-bottomed boats, fitted with runners in order to traverse the ice, and the idea received the support of practical seamen like Franklin and Scoresby, who in the years 1806 and 1822 had made many discoveries on the east coast of Greenland. On the 27th March, 1827, Sir Edward Parry sailed for Spitzbergen in the *Hecla*, and on the 22nd June started thence on his novel and hazardous journey of reaching the Pole, a distance of 600 miles, by sledge-boat, each boat weighing 3,573 lb. or 268 lb. per man. The party consisted of Lieutenants Ross and Bird and twenty-four seamen, with ninety days' rations. It soon became manifest that, owing to the ice moving to the southward, the task was impossible; but on the 23rd July, Parry had the honour of planting the British flag in 82° 45′ N. lat., a higher point than had hitherto been reached, though it has been passed by Sir George Nares's expedition. Parry says: 'To accomplish the distance of 172 miles from the ship, we had traversed by our reckoning 292 miles, of which about 100 had been performed by water, previously to our entering the ice. As we travelled by far the greater part of our distance on the ice three, and not unfrequently five times over, we may safely multiply the length of the road by two and a half; so that our whole distance, on a very moderate calculation, amounted to 580 geographical, or 668 statute,

miles, being nearly sufficient to have reached the Pole in a direct line.'

After the ill-starred voyages of Parry and Lyon in 1824, Government declined to fit out any more expeditions to discover the North-west Passage, but Sir Felix Booth despatched the *Victory*, a vessel with auxiliary steam power—the first employed in Arctic exploration—under command of Captain John Ross, Parry's old commander in the voyage of 1818, and his nephew, Commander James Ross, with the object of effecting the passage through Prince Regent's Inlet.

Captain Ross sailed on the 23rd May, 1829, and entered the inlet, where no vestige was visible of the *Fury*, abandoned here by Parry five years before. Proceeding for 200 miles to the eastward and south-eastward along the land, called North Somerset by Parry, and named by Ross, Boothia Felix, after his patron, he wintered in Felix Harbour. To other discoveries Captain Ross gave the names of Wellington and Ross Straits; also, King William's Land, Capes Franklin and Felix, and Point Victory, where he deposited a record. But the most important and interesting event connected with this expedition, was the discovery of the Magnetic Pole in 96° 46′ W. long., though it may be observed that it is calculated the pole moves 11′ 4″ every year, revolving within the frigid zone in 1,890 years.

A cairn, with a record of the discovery, was erected, and Ross says: 'We fixed the British flag on the spot, and took possession of the North Magnetic Pole and its adjacent territory, in the name of Great Britain and King William IV.' Here, however, the discoveries of Captain Ross terminated, and his sufferings and those of his brave crew commenced. In 1831 he was compelled to abandon his ship, and after enduring great hardships,

and performing infinite labour in dragging the boats laden with provisions over the ice, they reached the spot where the *Fury* was wrecked, and the remnant of her stores alone prevented the crew from starving to death.

Two winters were passed here with their long dreary nights of several months, when the sun makes no appearance above the horizon,

> 'And morning comes, but comes not clad in light,
> Uprisen day is but a paler night.'

In the summer of 1833, Captain Ross made his way to Barrow Strait, where he and his men were embarked by a whaler and carried to England, having survived four winters in the Arctic regions.

They had been given up as lost, and in February 1833, Captain Back, who had volunteered to proceed in search of them, left England, accompanied by Dr. King, and journeying across the Hudson's Bay territory, passed the winter of that year in Fort Reliance, on the eastern shore of Great Slave Lake. Here, in April 1834, he learned the news of the return of Ross and his companions, when this enterprising officer descended the unknown stream, 530 miles in length, called the Great Fish River, or Theew-ee-choh, to its mouth at a point he called after her Majesty, then Princess Victoria. After exploring the coast towards Point Turnagain for fifteen miles, he proceeded to Fort Reliance, and returned to England in the spring of 1835.

In the following year the Hudson's Bay Company despatched two of their officers, Dease and Simpson, to continue the explorations of Franklin and Back in 1825-26. Starting from the Return Reef of Franklin, in July 1837, on the 4th September they discovered the Garry and Colville Rivers, the latter 1,000 miles in

length; and, on the 1st August, Mr. Simpson, continuing the journey on foot, saw, as he says, 'Point Barrow stretching out to the northward, and enclosing Elson Bay, near the bottom.' Point Barrow, it will be remembered, was the farthest point attained by the *Blossom's* barge in 1826, and the bay was named after the officer in command. Retracing their course to the Great Bear Lake, they descended the Copper-mine River in June 1838, explored the coast eastward, and passing, on the 21st August, Point Turnagain, Franklin's farthest in 1821, saw before them, on the 23rd, an extensive land stretching to the northward, to which he gave the name of Victoria, and the eastern extremity he called Cape Pelly, after the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1839 they sailed through the strait which divides Victoria Land from the continent, and on the 13th August doubled Point Ogle, Back's farthest in 1834, thus connecting the coast-line with what was known to the eastward. Sailing over Back's Estuary, on the 20th August they sighted the farther shore, with its capes, of the Gulf of Boothia, which runs down to within forty miles of Repulse Bay. They then turned back and traced sixty miles of the south coast of Boothia, and examined a long extent of Victoria Land. On the 16th September they once more entered the Coppermine River, having performed a boat voyage of 1,600 miles, the longest on record in Polar annals.

When, in 1836, the British Government, at the instance of the Geographical Society, decided to continue Arctic exploration, Captain Back was selected to command the *Terror*, with instructions to proceed to Wager Inlet or Repulse Bay, which Captain Lyon had unsuccessfully attempted twelve years before, and

thence to proceed to the eastern shores of Regent's Inlet, from which point one exploring party was to examine as far as Hecla and Fury Strait, while another was to trace the coast line to the mouth of Back River, and thence to Point Turnagain of Franklin. But though this expedition failed of success the officers and men afforded an unsurpassed exhibition of the bravery, endurance, and resources that characterise British seamen. The *Terror* sailed on the 14th June, 1836, and soon commenced her long struggle with the ice. The ship wintered in Frozen Strait, twelve or fourteen miles from land, and was in constant danger of being crushed by the ice. Their critical position is well expressed in the words of the author of 'The Seasons.'

> 'Ill fares the bark, with trembling wretches charged,
> That, amid floating fragments, moves
> Beneath the shelter of an icy isle,
> While night o'erwhelms the sea, and horror looks
> More horrible. Can human force endure
> Th' assembled mischief that besiege them round?
> Heart-gnawing hunger, fainting weariness,
> The roar of winds and waves, the crash of ice,
> Now ceasing, now renewed with louder rage,
> And in dire echoes bellowing round the main!'

Throughout these weary months the struggle with the encircling ice continued, and frequently it appeared as if the *Terror* would have to be abandoned. Sledges were prepared and everything made ready to abandon her, and so matters continued till the following summer, when the ice broke up, and Captain Back brought the *Terror* back to Lough Swilly, almost in a sinking condition.

For a period of eight years no further Arctic expeditions were sent from England, and then was despatched

that memorable and disastrous one in which the great Franklin and so many officers and men perished. Before speaking of this, mention should be made of a boat expedition, organised by the Hudson's Bay Company, for the exploration of the region between Hecla and Fury Sound, and Dease and Simpson's farthest. Dr. Rae, who still survives, was appointed to the command, and leaving Fort Churchill on the 5th of July, 1846, with two boats, reached Repulse Bay, and explored the isthmus connecting Melville Peninsula with the Continent. Dr. Rae wintered at this isthmus, which bears his name, and in the following year explored the western coast of Melville Peninsula, and reached within a few miles of Hecla and Fury Strait, when he was compelled by want of provisions to retrace his steps and return to Fort Churchill.

In 1845 the British Government having resolved to make another effort to solve the problem of the North-west-Passage, Sir John Franklin was, with universal approval, designated as the fittest officer to undertake the duty. Accordingly, he sailed in May of that year, with the *Erebus* and *Terror* (with which Sir James Ross had successfully navigated the Antarctic Seas), his senior officers being Captain Crozier and Fitz James, and the crews numbering 138 souls. The ships were last seen in Lancaster Sound, but, from that day to this, no voice from the living has told their countrymen the tragic story of how, when, and where they met their fate.

With only three years' provisions, and little chance, as it seemed, of succour, the only two courses that presented themselves to Sir John Franklin were to starve in the ships, or undertake a journey over an icy waste with men debilitated by want and the effects of three Polar winters. So the ships were abandoned, and

drifted for years about those solitary seas, lashed by the Arctic tempests and shrouded with ice and snow, while the only human eye that rested on their hulls and tapering spars was that of an occasional Esquimaux, who doubtless regarded these mysterious visitants with the awe inspired in the mind of the legendary seaman when, in the midnight watch off the Cape, he saw, amid the gloom and storm, the Phantom Ship of Vanderdecken.

Franklin's ship shared the fate of the 'Hesperus,' whose

> 'Rattling shrouds, all sheathed in ice,
> With the masts went by the board;
> Like a vessel of glass she stove and sank,
> Ho! ho! the breakers roared.'

Such was the end of these hapless derelicts, whose timbers once echoed with the cheery voices of England's best and bravest sons, and bore former crews to Arctic and Antarctic triumphs.

In a fragmentary manner and at long intervals, the silence enshrouding the fate of their crews has been broken, as it were, by a voice from the dead, and one chapter and then another has been added to the dismal narrative, and lately the nation witnessed with sympathy the funeral, among his own kith and kin at Edinburgh, of Lieutenant Irving, one of the gallant officers of the ill-fated expedition, whose bones had bleached for more than thirty years amid the eternal snows and unbroken solitude of the frozen north. If challenged, like Longfellow's 'Skeleton in Armour,' what a tale of woe could not those fleshless lips unfold!

> 'Speak, speak! thou fearful guest,
> Who, with thy hollow breast,
> Comest to daunt me.'

It is said that death approaches in gentle guise those who perish in the numbing clutch of the Ice-King. Let

us hope it was so, and that during his last moments, in Byron's words:

> 'His dreams were of old England's welcome shore,
> Of toils rewarded, and of dangers o'er.'

Arctic exploration taxes the noblest qualities of our nature, and numberless are the victims who have perished in its prosecution. Many more there are also who have only escaped a similar fate to that which overtook the officers and men of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, by one of those coincidences or chances we impute to accident or good fortune. A memorable case was that of the late Sir Robert McClure and the ship's company of the *Investigator*. In April, 1853, after being frozen in about the same time of year as Franklin, he made similar preparations for abandonment, dividing his men into parties to proceed east and west; but within a few days of their starting on the desperate journey, similar to that undertaken by Franklin's men five years before, the news of succour was conveyed to them by a party from the *Resolute*.

After the expiration of two years, when nothing more was heard of Franklin's expedition, great anxiety was felt for their safety, and on the 12th June, 1848, Sir James Ross, who had accompanied his uncle, Sir John Ross, in his voyage of 1829-33, and had made most important discoveries in the Arctic Seas, proceeded, with Captain Bird as second in command, in search of the missing ships, with the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, provisioned, like Franklin's ships, for three years. Sir James Ross passed the winter of 1848 at Leopold Harbour, at the junction of Lancaster Sound, Wellington Channel, Regent Inlet, and Barrow Strait, and in the following spring he and his officers, including Lieutenant

McClintock, thoroughly explored the adjacent coast, but in vain, returning to England in November, 1849. During the succeeding years several expeditions were despatched by Lady Franklin, by private subscription, and by Government, including those of Captains Saunders, Penny, and Forsyth, the expedition to Behring's Strait under Captains Kellett and Moore, and those under Sir John Ross and Captains Austin and Ommaney.

Though the object of these voyages remained unaccomplished, many important discoveries were added to the sum of geographical knowledge, and the sledge-parties despatched over Barrow Strait in 1851, by Captain Austin, from the *Resolute* and *Assistance*, and by Captain Penny, master of a whaler, traversed hundreds of miles of the shores of North Somerset and Prince of Wales Land. In making explorations by means of sledge-parties, Lieutenant (now Admiral Sir) Leopold McClintock and Lieutenant (the late Admiral) Sherard Osborn especially distinguished themselves, and gained that knowledge of the Arctic question which constituted them the most reliable and best-informed authorities of the day.

Among expeditions in search of Franklin, was one, in 1848, whose object was to proceed down the Mackenzie and explore the coast from that river eastward to Coronation Gulf. This party was conducted by Franklin's old companion, Sir John Richardson, and by Dr. Rae, who also explored in the direction of Melville Sound. An expedition was also sent by Lady Franklin under Captain Kennedy, assisted by the gallant young French officer, Lieutenant Bellot, who explored the coasts of North Somerset and of Prince of Wales Land, performing, during the spring of 1852, a journey of 1,100 miles, in ninety-seven days. In a second expedi-

tion, despatched by Lady Franklin under Commander (now Admiral Sir) Edward Inglefield, the gallant Bellot,* who accompanied him, lost his life. Parliament voted rewards of £20,000 and £10,000 for efficient relief to the Franklin expedition, or information concerning it, and Government continued to make efforts to relieve the long-lost crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*. In 1852 no less than five vessels were fitted out under the supreme command of the late Sir Edward Belcher, who had served his apprenticeship in Arctic navigation under Beechey, in the famous voyage of the *Blossom* in 1826. Sir Edward sailed with two ships, and Captain (the late Admiral Sir) Henry Kellett, who had only returned from Behring's Straits in the previous year, also sailed with two ships, the fifth being a storeship; but both officers were unsuccessful in the search, though Kellett was so fortunate as to meet McClure in April, 1853, and succour him in his extremity. In the spring of 1854, Sir Edward Belcher abandoned all four ships and brought his crews to England in the storeship, for which conduct he was brought to court-martial and reprimanded. A detailed account of McClure's expedition is necessary in any work dealing with Arctic research, as the story of his relief from the fate of Franklin is of romantic interest.

Captains Kellett and Moore had left England in 1848, in the *Herald* and *Plover*, and, passing through Behring's Strait to Point Barrow, discovered some islands off the coast of Asia, near Captain Cook's North Cape, which were called after the two ships.

On the 20th January, 1850, Captain (now Admiral

* A monument has been erected to the memory of Lieutenant Bellot in Greenwich Hospital, than whom, as has been observed, 'the record of Arctic heroism shows no brighter name.'

Sir) Richard Collinson and Commander (the late Sir Robert) McClure, an experienced officer who had served under Sir George Back and Sir James Ross, sailed in the *Enterprise* and *Investigator* for Behring's Straits, with the object of searching for Franklin's ships. Touching at the Sandwich Islands, they passed through Behring's Straits, at the entrance of which they spoke the ships of Captains Kellett and Moore. In the following year Captain Collinson doubled Capes Bathurst and Parry, and sailing along the island called Bank's Land, passed through a strait which he named after the Prince of Wales, and entered Melville Sound, near which he wintered. In the following spring Captain Collinson undertook sledging expeditions, when several important discoveries were made, and after passing another winter in the island near Victoria Sound, he continued sledging in the spring of 1853. Captain Collinson passed another winter in Camden Bay, and at length on the 16th September, 1854, sailed for England. His explorations on the western shores of Victoria Land had been anticipated by his coadjutor, Commander McClure, in the *Investigator*, whose movements in search of Franklin we will now briefly trace.

On the 6th September, 1850, he sighted Bank's Land, seen by Parry in 1819, but which he was the first throughly to explore. After drifting for some days, the *Investigator* was frozen in the Prince of Wales' Strait where they passed the winter, making sledge journeys along the coast of Bank's Land and Prince Albert Land, but without finding any traces of Franklin. After drifting about with the ice-floes during the following summer, Captain McClure wintered [illegible] of Bank's Strait, and in Ap[illegible]re-party to explore Melvill[illegible]e

coast was reached, and under a slab of sandstone he found the record deposited by Parry in 1819, and placed his own beside it, thus having effected the junction and proved the existence of a North-west Passage.

Between the 5th August, 1850, when the *Investigator* parted company with the *Herald*, Captain Kellett, off Cape Lisburne, and the 6th April, 1853, a period of nearly three years, nothing further was seen or heard of the *Investigator*, regarding which the public anxiety became almost as deep as in the case of Franklin's disappearance. Meantime, Captain Kellett had returned to England in June, 1851, and commissioned the *Resolute* (some of the officers who had served under him in the *Herald* joining the latter ship), with the object of searching for Franklin. The *Resolute* sailed on the 21st April, 1852, and on the 1st September safely reached Melville Island, where she wintered. Under Providence this ship was the agent for rescuing the crew of the *Investigator*, which Commander McClure proposed to abandon in Mercy Bay, from a miserable death by want and fatigue; and the means by which this was brought about is among the most extraordinary in Arctic annals.

Lieutenant Meecham, first-lieutenant of the *Resolute*, while engaged in a sledge expedition, accidentally turned up, at Parry Sandstone, a document dated 24th September, 1851, and deposited at this spot in the following April, announcing the proximity of the *Investigator*. A sledge party was immediately organised, and Lieutenant Bedford Pim,* who had served for six years under Cap-

* Now Captain Bedford Pim, late M.P. for Gravesend. While temporarily serving in H.M.S. *Plover*, which was under Captain Kellett's orders, Lieutenant Pim, in 1849, performed an overland journey from Kotzebue Inlet to Norton Sound in Alaska, across the mountains.

tain Kellett, in the *Herald*, volunteered to lead it in search of the missing ship. Accordingly, on the 10th March, 1853, with the thermometer marking 34° below zero, this intrepid officer started on his mission, and on the 6th April had the unspeakable satisfaction of encountering Commander McClure, from whom he had parted at Cape Lisburne on the 5th August, 1850. But for the timely succour thus brought to the weakened and depressed crew of the *Investigator*, some seventy officers and men, it is certain that they would have shared the fate of their comrades of the *Erebus* and *Terror*.

Captains Kellett and McClure met on the 19th April, and the latter officer, under orders, abandoned the *Resolute* in the following year, as his superior officer considered that she could not be extricated from the ice; but the good ship drifted out of the pack in safety, and being picked up by an American ship, was restored to her Majesty by the President of the United States. Only recently she has been broken up, and by the Queen's desire, some articles of furniture were made out of her timbers and presented to the occupant of the White House at Washington.

Commander McClure received promotion and the honour of knighthood; and a Committee of the House of Commons awarded the officers and crew of the *Investigator* a grant of £10,000 for having first made the North-west Passage. It is incontestable that this officer, equally gallant and modest, entered the Polar Sea by Behring's Strait and left it by Baffin's Bay, thus having circumnavigated the continent of America as Nordenskiold recently has Europe and Asia.

Mention should not be omitted of Franklin search expeditions despatched by Americans, among whom the fate of the great Arctic voyager created almost as much

interest as in this country. Within the present generation our American cousins have striven to rival us in the gallant efforts they have made to penetrate to the Pole, or to trace the course of the remnant of Franklin's followers after they left their ships, and lately they have succeeded beyond all expectations.

It has been a noble rivalry, and the Spirit of the North Pole might exclaim, in Thomson's words, of such persistent efforts:

> 'Could my savage heart
> Such glories check, their unsubmitting soul
> Would all my fury brave, my tempest climb,
> And might in spite of me my kingdom force.'

In 1850 Mr. Grinnell, a merchant of New York, sent an expedition, and three years later Dr. Rae again proceeded from Repulse Bay to Dease and Simpson's farthest, and succeeded in purchasing some silver spoons, relics of Franklin and his officers, which he brought to England in October, 1854. But the melancholy honour of having unravelled the mystery that had hitherto shrouded the fate of the crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror* was at length achieved by Captain McClintock, who had already acquired considerable reputation in the expedition under Captain Austin in 1851, when he performed sledge journeys of several weeks over vast distances.

Captain McClintock sailed on the 1st July, 1857, in the steamer *Fox*, chartered by Lady Franklin, and wintered near Melville Bay, and in the following year off Point Kennedy, on the coast of Boothia. In February, 1859, Captain McClintock and Mr. Allen Young commenced exploring the adjacent coast, when McClintock learned from some Esquimaux that a ship had been abandoned on the west coast of King William

Land, and the crew had travelled towards Montreal Island, where they had perished of starvation, and several silver spoons and forks were produced in confirmation of the story. McClintock now organised search-parties headed by himself and Lieutenant Hobson. In Montreal Island he discovered some relics, and following the west coast of King William Land, on the 26th May he came upon a skeleton in a boat.

Lieutenant Hobson was still more successful, and on the 6th May discovered in a cairn on Point Victory, on the north-west coast of King William Land, an official record, dated 28th May, 1847, stating that in 1845 the expedition had ascended Wellington Channel to 73° N. lat., and returning by the west coast of Cornwallis, had wintered at Beechey Island, and near Point Victory in the following year. Round the margin was a further record, dated 22nd April, 1848, that the ships having been beset with ice since 12th September, 1846, had been abandoned three days before, five leagues from that spot; that up to date twenty-five of the crew had died, including Sir John Franklin, who expired on the 11th June, 1847; and that the survivors, numbering 105 officers and men, proposed starting on the following day, under command of Captain Crozier, for the Great Fish River. Not far from the cairn was found a boat, in which were two skeletons, a quantity of clothing, books, and other articles, and a little tea, cocoa and tobacco. With this sad intelligence and these interesting relics, Captain McClintock arrived in England on the 20th September, 1859. The whole nation bewailed the fate of Franklin and the gallant officers and men of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, to whose memory a monument has been erected by the nation in Waterloo Place, in which it is recorded that they completed the discovery

of the North-west Passage, 'forging the last link with their lives.'

Reference has been made to the interment in Edinburgh of the remains of Lieutenant Irving, and here we will give an account of the remarkable journey made by the discoverer, Lieutenant Schwatka, of the United States Navy, in the footsteps of the officers and men of Franklin's Expedition. Although their fate had been brought to light by Captain McClintock, who, wintering in Bellot Strait, Prince Regent's Inlet, set out with a sledge-party, which reached King William's Land, about 150 miles distant, where the remains of many of those who had perished were discovered, as well as various relics and records, thus obtaining the first positive proof of the fate of the Franklin Expedition,—our Government did nothing to obtain further information, a task which was undertaken by two American citizens, first Captain Hall,* who obtained some results, and in August, 1878, by Lieutenant Schwatka.

This officer, who, with three companions, landed from a whaler at a point named Camp Daly, near Chesterfield Inlet, at the northern end of Hudson's Bay, made preparations during the winter for a start in the following spring. The enterprise undertaken by Lieutenant Schwatka was a bold and hazardous one, and involved the traversing a totally unknown country for a distance of 350 miles 'as the crow flies,' and then, on reaching King William's Land (or island), instituting a minute search of its coast; this completed he would

* Captain Hall died while engaged on a later Arctic enterprise, but his journal, which he handed to Lady Franklin, with an intimation that he reserved to himself the right of publication, has not seen the light, though, at Lady Franklin's request, it was perused by Admiral Sir E. Inglefield, an Arctic officer of experience, who speaks highly of its value.

have to remain there until the winter, for having no boat he could not cross the strait which divided this island from the mainland during other seasons of the year; and finally, he would have to retrace his steps to Hudson's Bay in the depth of an Arctic winter. But these difficulties only acted as incentives to the gallant American naval officer, who, after passing the winter of 1878 at Camp Daly, with the natives, in order to acquire their habits and mode of living, started on his journey on the 1st April in the following year, accompanied by his three men and thirteen Esquimaux, including women and children, with three sledges drawn by forty-two dogs, in which were conveyed a month's provisions, consisting chiefly of bread and meat, and firearms in order to procure food and provide for their personal safety.

Crossing the country to the estuary of the Great Fish (or Back's) River, they examined Montreal Island and the coast of Adelaide Peninsula, meeting on the road many natives, from whom they procured relics of the lost expedition, and learned that one of the ships, after their abandonment, had drifted with the ice down the Victoria Strait, a distance of about 150 miles.

> 'And fast through the midnight dark and drear,
> Through the whistling sleet and snow,
> Like a sheeted ghost the vessel swept.'

She drifted to a position off Grant Point, within a few miles of Adelaide Peninsula, where she was scuttled by the Esquimaux. In May, 1879, Lieutenant Schwatka crossed over Simpson Strait to King William's Land, and for five months conducted a minute search of its coasts, during which he followed in the tracks of our ill-fated countrymen, whose route could be traced by

their remains, disinterred by the greed of the natives or the hunger of wild beasts. All these sad memorials of humanity were tenderly recommitted to the earth, with the exception of the bones of Lieutenant Irving, and such relics as rewarded a diligent search were brought away. Having thoroughly completed their pious task, on the 1st of November, the ice being sufficiently strong to bear them, the party recrossed the strait to the mainland, and coasting along the west side of Adelaide Peninsula, journeyed back to Camp Daly by a track sixty miles to the west of their outward route. Their march was one of almost unexampled difficulty and hardship, owing to the scarcity of food and the extraordinary low temperature, the cold being the greatest ever encountered by white men. On the 3rd of January, 1880, the thermometer (Fahrenheit's) sunk to 71° below zero, and during the entire day it did not rise more than two degrees. For sixteen days the average temperature was 100° below the freezing-point, and during twenty-seven it was below sixty degrees. But the party never halted for twenty-four hours, though for days without food, being reduced to the necessity of eating seal-skins, walrus-hide, and other refuse ; further, the men, in their enfeebled state, had to drag the sledges, owing to the death of twenty-seven of their dogs which expired from hard work and starvation.

But at length, on the 4th March, 1880, they arrived at Camp Daly, having accomplished a sledge journey the longest on record through the unexplored Arctic regions as to time and distance, the party having been absent from their base of operations in Hudson's Bay eleven months and four days, during which they travelled 2,819 geographical, or 3,251 statute, miles. Admiral Sir George Richards, one of our most eminent

Arctic explorers, in adverting to this achievement and its results, says, in a letter to the *Times*, and the opinion will be echoed by everyone: 'Comment on this remarkable undertaking seems to be almost superfluous—so far as I know it stands unrivalled in the annals of Arctic, or, indeed, of any other enterprise of modern times, and one scarcely knows which to admire most; the boldness and audacity of its conception, or the unswerving devotion and perseverance which brought it to a successful conclusion.'

Sir John Franklin and Sir Robert McClure are each credited with the honour of having solved the problem of the North-west Passage, or in other words discovered a continuous sea-passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Among 'Arctic men' opinions are divided as to who is entitled to this distinction, and though both of these gallant officers are no more, each has his advocates.*

* We cannot place these claims more clearly before the public than in the words of two gentlemen, who some years since addressed the *Times* on the subject. Sir A. Armstrong, late Director-General of the Medical Department of the Navy, one of Sir R. McClure's officers in the *Investigator*, says: 'As the question stood in 1831, there remained about 350 miles of water-communication to connect the easternmost work of Dease and Simpson with Lancaster Sound, and the openings by which this communication was to be effected, viz., Prince Regent's Inlet and Peel Sound, were seen by Parry in 1819. Now, to complete the story, in 1846 and 1847, Franklin and Crozier sailed down Peel Sound, and were fixed in the ice off the Point Victory of James Ross, where the gallant chief died on the 11th June of the latter year. The skeleton found by McClintock on Point Herschell, about 120 miles to the southward on King William's Land, proved that the parties from the *Erebus* and *Terror* had completed the water-communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Let us now turn to the North-west Passage, par excellence. It is briefly recorded and requires no embellishment. Parry reached Melville Island with the *Hecla* and *Griper* by the Atlantic on the 26th September, 1819, and saw Bank's Land. McClure reached Bank's Land in the *Investigator* on the 24th September, 1850, and landing on its north-eastern point, saw before him, across the Frozen Strait (now McClure Strait), at the distance of fifty

As a matter of fact *both* completed the North-west Passage, but by different routes: one to the north and

miles, Melville Island. He subsequently crossed the strait with sledge-parties, and effected the junction by placing his own record side by side with Parry's under the same stone. In 1854, with his officers and crew, he returned by ship across the Atlantic to England. Further comment on this is unnecessary. I have written, sir, to vindicate the claims of as bold and gallant a leader as England ever possessed, and who in his lifetime never sought to obtrude them. The amiable feeling which induced Murchison and far greater authorities than he to gratify the weakness or the ambition of a widow justly proud of her husband's fame may be fully appreciated when they do no injustice to others; but historical facts cannot be controverted, and McClure can never be robbed of his justly and hardly earned honour. If Franklin's reputation rested on the discovery of the North-west Passage, it would be grounded on an unsound basis, and on one which none of his real admirers could desire. I cannot, therefore, but regret that Lady Franklin should have thought it necessary to address you on this subject, and to have claimed a right for her late gallant husband that clearly pertained to another, and that within forty-eight hours after the grave had closed on the remains of McClure. In justice, therefore, to the memory of Sir Robert McClure, and as one of the few surviving officers of that memorable expedition, I claim for him the clear and inalienable right of being, not only the discoverer of the North-west Passage, but the man who, with the officers and men of her Majesty's ship *Investigator*, actually accomplished it, we having entered the Polar Sea, *viâ* Behring's Strait, and left it *viâ* Baffin's Bay, and thus circumnavigated the great continent of America, and established the existence of a passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.'

On the other hand, Mr. Morris Beaufort, the advocate of Sir John Franklin to be considered the 'discoverer of the North-west Passage,' wrote to the *Times:* 'The geographical problem, to settle which many expeditions had been despatched from this country, was whether or not there was continuous sea from the Atlantic to the Pacific to the north of the continent of America. That was the long-sought North-west Passage; and, stated concisely, the solution of the two conflicting claims is simply this: Sir J. Franklin discovered the North-west Passage in 1848, and rather more than two years later Sir R. McClure made the passage by another route. Inasmuch, then, as Sir J. Franklin had a priority of two years, it was he who solved the problem—he was the discoverer of the North-west Passage. On the return of Sir R. McClure's expedition, with the news of the discovery

the other to the south of Victoria and Bank's Land, and Franklin had the priority by two years.

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of a North-west Passage, the honour of having been the first to solve the great geographical problem was prematurely assigned to him. Prematurely, because at that time it was not known that it already had been solved by the gallant crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, who died in solving it. Sir A. Armstrong, one of Sir R. McClure's officers, is very naturally loth to part with this honour, however prematurely assigned, but facts are stubborn things. Nothing, I am certain, could possibly be further from Lady Franklin's desire than to detract one iota from the credit due to Sir R. McClure for the energy, zeal and resolution so remarkably displayed by the voyage of the *Investigator;* but it is not to be expected that she should sit by mute when the crowning honour of her husband's career is given to some one else, or that those who know the truth should remain silent when Sir J. Franklin's claim is positively denied. If you will consult the evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider the award to Sir R. McClure, you will find that my father, Admiral Beaufort, hydrographer of the Admiralty, and others stated that if the honour of being the discoverer of the North-west Passage was assigned to Sir R. McClure before it was known whether Sir J. Franklin had made the passage or not, it would be done prematurely, and accordingly the grant was made for the discovery of "a," not of "the" North-west Passage. If you will look at the monument raised by the nation to the memory of Sir J. Franklin and the officers and crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, you will see that it was for "completing the discovery of the North-west Passage." If you will turn to the award of the gold medal by the Royal Geographical Society in 1860 to Lady Franklin, and to the reference to it by Sir R. Murchison at the meeting of the British Association in the same year, you will find it stated specifically that Sir J. Franklin was the first to discover the fact of continuous sea. You will find the same in Sir J. Richardson's life of Franklin in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and in his letter in the *Times* of June 23, 1855; in the accounts of both voyages written by Admiral Sherard Osborn you will find the proofs of Sir J. Franklin's right, in Sir Leopold McClintock's account of his own very remarkable voyage in the *Fox*, and although Lady Franklin has not published the letter which Sir James Ross, who had previously been the strenuous assertor of Sir R. McClure's claim, spontaneously wrote to her in 1860, acknowledging the unquestionable priority of Sir John Franklin's achievement, that letter exists. Lastly, Sir A. Armstrong himself states that the crews of the "*Erebus* and *Terror* had completed the water-communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific." As

An important addition to the exploration of the Polar area was made by Dr. Kane, who sailed in the brig *Advance* from New York in 1853, and wintered in Smith Sound. From this point he and Dr. Hayes made sledge journeys, during which they explored a considerable extent of hitherto unknown coast line, and named the country beyond Grinnell Land. During the explorations the sufferings of the sledge-parties were very great, and eventually, in May, 1855, they were compelled to abandon their ship, and on the eighty-third day reached Upernavik, on the west coast of Greenland.

Some years passed before a fresh expedition was undertaken to penetrate to the Pole, the honour of effecting which was now the great desire among all maritime nations, the scientific world taking advantage of this popular aspiration for the 'blue riband' of Arctic discovery, to urge on the necessity of an examination of those regions, with their fauna, flora, and distinctive conditions. In 1860 Dr. Hayes took the schooner *United States* within the straits, and in that and the following year explored Kennedy Channel, proceeding as far north as 81° 35′.

In 1868, at the instance of the eminent German geographer, Dr. Petermann, Captain Koldewey sailed from Bergen to attack the problem of Arctic research, by the Spitzbergen route, of which Dr. Petermann has ever been the most eloquent advocate, but the expedition failed of any result. In the following year Captain Koldewey again sailed with two vessels, but one of

they did so in 1848, this acknowledgment concedes the whole question, and it seems wonderful that he should attribute to Sir R. McClure, who did not arrive at Melville Island until 1850, the discovery of the North-west Passage, and altogether deny the claim of one who had two years previously proved the existence of continuous water, which is the same thing.'

them was lost, and the crew with great difficulty reached a Danish settlement near Cape Farewell. Captain Koldewey, accompanied by Lieutenant Payer, conducted sledge explorations on the east coast of Greenland, and made very important discoveries; Captain Heuglin also named headlands and other points on the east coast of Spitzbergen, including one to which he gave the name of King Charles Land, in honour of the King of Sweden.

In 1871-73 three German expeditions explored the coasts of Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, and the north coast of Asia; and a fourth, as already noted in another chapter, discovered the relics of the Barentz expedition of 1596, the house and interior, with the clock in the wall, having been undisturbed for nearly three centuries. In 1872 also, Captain Weyprecht, having Lieutenant Payer and Captain Carlsen as his assistants, sailed from Bremen with the object of exploring the island of New Siberia by the route round the north coast of Nova Zembla, thence to return through Behring's Straits. We have described how, after reaching Barentz Island, they drifted for fourteen months with the pack-ice, and in August, 1873, discovered new land extending to the eighty-third parallel, to which they gave the name of Franz-Josef, after the Emperor of Austria. In May, 1874, they abandoned the ship in four sledge-boats, and crossing to Nova Zembla, returned to Norway in a Russian schooner.

About the same time a candidate for the honour of being the first to reach the Pole appeared in Captain C. F. Hall, an American, who sailed in the *Polaris* from Disco on the 17th August, 1871, and passed through Smith's Sound and Kennedy Channel with little obstruction from the ice. Entering Robeson's Channel,

Captain Hall reached 82° 16′ N. lat., the highest point yet attained by the Smith Sound route, though Parry had pushed nearly half a degree nearer the Pole in sledges by the Spitzbergen route. The *Polaris* was moored on the 4th September in a bay, which received her name, and Captain Hall proceeded on a sledging journey for fourteen days, but died on the 8th October, soon after his return. In the following autumn the ship drifted to the southward, and in October Captain Buddington, in apprehension of her destruction by the pressure of the ice, landed his men with boats and stores upon a floe, when the ship broke away and disappeared, leaving upon the ice fifteen Europeans, and two Esquimaux with their wives and one child. These castaways drifted for a distance of 1,600 miles, suffering starvation and incredible hardships; but at length, on the 29th April, 1873, were picked up by the *Tigress*, a sealing steamer, and carried to St. John's in Newfoundland. The account of the hardships endured by these people is one of the most remarkable in Arctic annals, and it is almost incredible that human beings could survive the exposure to which they were subjected. In Byron's words they were:

> 'Ghastly spectres which were doom'd at last,
> To tell as true a tale of dangers past,
> As ever the dark annals of the deep
> Disclosed for men to dread or women weep.'

Meanwhile Captain Buddington's position was scarcely more desirable, and he and his crew were compelled to desert the *Polaris*, and lived on shore from the 17th October till the 3rd June, 1873, when the party, numbering fourteen men, started in two boats, and were picked up in Melville Bay by a whaler, which landed them at Dundee on the 19th September.

As all the world knows, and Englishmen are justly proud to remember, the highest northern latitude yet achieved was that attained by the expedition under Sir George Nares, the details of which are too well known to need recapitulation. The former officer, in command of the *Alert*, and Captain Stephenson in the *Recovery*, sailed from Portsmouth on the 29th May, 1875, and arrived at that port on their return on the 2nd November, 1876, having explored and mapped a considerable tract of coast-line of the Polar Sea, and Commander Markham planted the British flag in a higher latitude than any previous navigator had attained. The results from a scientific point obtained by this expedition were considerable, and only four seamen, and Paterson, the interpreter, succumbed to the rigours of the climate, and the hardships incidental to sledge travelling in the Polar Seas.

The last great feat in Arctic exploration has been performed by another nation than ours. Between 1858 and 1872, the Swedes sent no fewer than seven expeditions to Spitzbergen and two to Greenland; and in 1875, and again in 1876, Professor Nordenskiold sailed to the Yenisei on the Siberian coast, and established the fact that that river was practicable every year by the Kara Sea. Finally, the Professor sailed in the steamship *Vega* from Gothenburg, with the object of making the North-east Passage through Behring's Straits. The funds necessary for the purpose, £20,000, were raised by public subscription, Mr. Oscar Dickson, a merchant of that town, having given, with a munificence as yet unrivalled among our merchant princes at home, no less than £12,000. Among his officers were Lieutenant Palander, commander of the *Vega*, who had sailed with him in the Spitzbergen

expeditions of 1872-73, and three lieutenants of the Danish, Swedish and Italian navies.

In 1738 and 1750, Russian vessels from the Yenisei, sailing along the coast, reached to 75° 15′ N. lat., but no ship had succeeded in rounding the northern cape of Asia, the Promontorium Tabin of Pliny, though Lieutenant Chelyuskin reached it by land in 1742, whence the cape received his name; the peninsula being known as Taimir or Taimura. Russian officers had attempted to round Cape Chelyuskin from the east, starting from Yakutsk, 900 miles up the Lena, but Lieutenant Proutschicheff, in 1736, got no further than 77° 29′ N., and Lieutenant Laptief reached within 60 miles of the formidable promontory, which, however, still maintained its virgin character. Professor Nordenskiold was destined to be more successful, but he had the advantage of making the attempt in a steamship.

Sailing from Gothenburg in the *Vega*, on the 4th July, 1878, with a picked crew of eighteen men, accompanied as far as the Lena river by a small steamer of 100 tons, called the *Lena*, on the 19th August Cape Chelyuskin was successfully rounded, and the chief object of the voyage, that of attaining the most northern point of the Old World, was achieved.

On the 24th August, the *Vega* passed the mouth of the Chatanga River, which was found to be 4° eastward of its position on the map, and, three days later, she was off the mouth of the Lena, up which the little steamer of that name proceeded to Yakutsk, whence telegrams and letters were sent to Sweden announcing the great success achieved by the gallant Swedes. Hopes were entertained that the *Vega* would make the North-east Passage through the Polar Sea back to Gothenburg, thus circumnavigating Asia and Europe within a few

months; but on the 28th September, 1878, when she had arrived on the Asiatic shore of Behring's Straits, near the promontory which bounds Koljutchin Bay on the east, in 67° 7′ N. lat., 173° 30′ W. long., she was frozen in, and here she remained for several months. During this period of enforced inactivity, Professor Nordenskiold and his scientific companions had an opportunity of observing the habits of that singular people, the Tchuktzkis.

When the ice had broken up the *Vega* proceeded to Yokohama, whence, passing through the Suez Canal, she visited Lisbon, and on the 25th March arrived at Falmouth. In England the voyagers were enthusiastically received, and the Royal Geographical Society, which had already awarded Professor Nordenskiold the Gold Medal in 1869, for the important scientific results of his exploration of Spitzbergen in 1868 and previous years, granted his second in command, Lieutenant Palander, the Founder's (William IV.) Medal, for having safely navigated the *Vega* for nearly 3,000 miles along the unsurveyed shores of Asia. The voyagers proceeded from England to Copenhagen and Gothenburg, whence they had started, having accomplished one of the greatest feats performed by the navigators of any age. No geographical achievement of this century exceeds in brilliance the circumnavigation of Europe and Asia, which almost ranks with Magellan's and De Gama's great deeds, allowing for the advantage Nordenskiold possessed of having steam power at his disposal; and the only feats of the first magnitude now remaining for accomplishment are the attainment of the Arctic and Antarctic Poles.

The Antarctic regions, by reason of the limited extent of land within their area, do not afford the same field for

naval enterprise as the Northern Polar Seas, and what explorations have been made are due chiefly to the enterprise of British seamen. The first to penetrate within the Polar area was Captain Cook in his second voyage. He crossed the Antarctic circle in January, 1773, and stood as far south as 67° 15′; in January of the following year he again advanced towards the Pole, in search of an Antarctic continent, and a third time, in February, 1776, he penetrated the Polar area, and discovered land which he called after Lord Sandwich, and some small islands which he named Candlemas.

It was not until 1823 that Captain Weddell sailed 214 miles further to the south, and, in January, 1831, Captain Biscoe discovered land which he called Enderby Land, after the owners of his brig, the *Tula*. In July, 1838, two small vessels, the *Eliza Scott* and a cutter belonging to Messrs. Enderby and other merchants, sailed from London on a voyage to the South Seas, with special instructions to push as far as possible to the southward in search of land. Touching at Amsterdam Island, Chalky Bay, in New Zealand, and Campbell Islands, the vessels proceeded to the southward, and reached their extreme south latitude, 69°, in 172° 11′ E. longitude, full 220 miles further to the southward than the point which, in 1820, the Russian navigator, Bellinghausen, had been able to reach in this meridian. Continuing to the westward, on February 9, 1839, in latitude 66° 44′ S., longitude 163° 11′ E., they discovered five islands, named Balleny Islands, by Captain Beaufort, hydrographer to the Admiralty, after the master of the *Eliza Scott*. During the following day, indications of land were seen to the westward along the 65th parallel of latitude, and between 131° 35′, and 118° 30′ E. longitude, and to the last land seen, in 65° 25′, Captain Balleny

gave the name of Sabrina Land, after the cutter which accompanied the *Eliza Scott* throughout the cruise.

On the 19th January, 1840, Captain d'Urville, of the French navy, with the corvettes, *Astrolabe* and *Zélée*, sighted land, which he called 'Terre Adelie,' and two days later some of his officers landed on an islet off its shores. On the 30th of the same month, D'Urville saw a high barrier of ice a few miles to the eastward of the land seen by Balleny, which he named Côte Clarie.*

Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, of the United States Navy, who had visited these high latitudes in 1838 and 1839 in the United States brig *Porpoise*, arrived in the *Vincennes*, to the westward of the high barrier of ice seen by D'Urville, on the 7th February, 1840, just a week after the visit of D'Urville, and, he says, 'continued all day running along the perpendicular icy barrier, about 150 feet high. Beyond it the outline of high land could be well distinguished. At 6 p.m. we suddenly found the barrier trending to the southward, and the sea studded with icebergs. I now hauled off until daylight, in order to ascertain the trending of the land more exactly. I place this point, which I have named Cape Carr, after the first-lieutenant of the *Vincennes*, in longitude 131° 40′ E., latitude 64° 49′ S.'† This is no doubt the same land seen by Balleny and D'Urville, so that the prior discovery lies with these officers. But the most scientific and complete examination of these seas was made by Captain James Clark Ross, of the Royal Navy, between the years 1839-43.

Acting on the strongly-expressed recommendations of the Royal Society and of the British Association at their

* 'Voyage au Pole Sud,' tome viii. p. 177.

† 'Narrative of United States Exploring Expedition,' vol. ii. p. 321.

eighth meeting, in Newcastle, in 1838, the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, sanctioned the despatch of a naval expedition for the purpose of making important magnetic observations in southern regions. Under the directions of Lord Minto, First Lord of the Admiralty, on the 8th April, 1839, Captain Ross commissioned the *Erebus*,* a bomb of 370 tons, and Commander Francis R. M. Crozier—who subsequently perished in Franklin's expedition, of which he was second in command—was appointed to the command of the *Terror*, of 340 tons, the vessel with which Captain Back had attempted unsuccessfully to reach Repulse Bay in 1836-37. Each ship had a complement of sixty-four officers and men, and every effort was made to ensure success in this the first Polar Expedition fitted out in her Majesty's reign.

The ships sailed from Margate Roads on the 30th September, 1839, and, taking in supplies at the Cape, visited the Crozet Islands, discovered by a French navigator in 1772, and the larger island of which was named by Cook Prince Edward's Island, after the Duke of Kent, her Majesty's father. Thence the ships proceeded to Kerguelen Land, and surveyed the Christmas Harbour of Cook, and to Tasmania, where they received every attention from Sir John Franklin, the lieutenant-governor. From Tasmania Captain Ross sailed to the Auckland Islands, 800 or 900 miles distant, consisting of one large and several small islands discovered by Abraham Bristow, master of the ship *Ocean*, belonging to Messrs. Enderby,† on the 18th August, 1806, during a third voyage round the world. The *Erebus* and *Terror*

* The surgeon of the *Erebus* and naturalist of the expedition was Mr. (now Sir) Joseph Hooker, late President of the Royal Society.

† Other islands of the group were named Enderby, Rose, and Ocean.

continued their course to Campbell Island, 120 miles to the southward, discovered in 1810 by Frederick Hazelburgh, in command of the brig *Perseverance*, and having a circumference of thirty miles.

On the 11th January, 1841, they sighted the Antarctic Continent, which rose in lofty peaks ; the highest mountain of the range Captain Ross named after Colonel Sabine, R.A., Parry's companion, then Foreign Secretary, and afterwards President, of the Royal Society. At noon of this day they were in 71° 15′, the highest latitude attained by Captain Cook in 1774. The range of mountains on the mainland Captain Ross called Admiralty Range, giving the most conspicuous peaks the names of the Lords of the Admiralty. The most prominent capes he called after his friend Viscount Adare, and Sir John Barrow, who, as Secretary to the Admiralty, is so honourably associated with Arctic discovery ; and a deep bay was named after Mr. Charles Wood, now Lord Halifax. The ceremony of taking possession of the new discovery was performed on an island situated in 71° 56′ S. latitude, and 171° 7′ E. longitude, which hence received the name of Possession Island.

Naming prominent points as he sailed along the coast, Mounts Herschell and Melbourne, Franklin and Beaufort Islands, and Parry Mountains, on the 28th January, they discovered a burning volcano, rising 12,367 feet above the level of the sea, and, adjoining it, an extinct crater, attaining a height of 10,884 feet, which were named respectively after the ships *Erebus* and *Terror*. On the 2nd February, 1841, Captain Ross reached the highest latitude attained, 78° 4′, the ice-barrier, about 160 feet high, extending to the east and west as far as the eye could reach, and continuing in an unbroken line from Cape Crozier, at the foot of Mount

Terror, a distance of 250 miles. The whole of this great southern land, whose continuity they had traced from the 70th to the 79th degree of latitude, was named Victoria Land. Recrossing the Antarctic Circle they visited the Balleny Islands, but failed to discover the land marked in Lieutenant Wilkes' Chart, though they sailed over the site.* On the 6th April the ships anchored at the mouth of the Derwent in Tasmania, where their discoveries excited intense interest in the mind of Sir John Franklin.

After a refit, the ships sailed from Hobart Town on the 7th July, 1841, and visiting Sydney and New Zealand, quitted the Bay of Islands in November, and crossed the Antarctic in 66° 32′ S., 156° 28′ W., on the same day as in the previous year, and 40 degrees of latitude, or about 1,200 miles, to the eastward. They saw no land, but the ships were placed in great peril, being beset by the pack-ice, and, on the 23rd February,

* Captain Ross is of opinion that the various patches of land discovered by the American, French, and English navigators on the verge of the Antarctic circle are not united. The continuity of D'Urville's Terre Adelie has only been traced 300 miles, of Enderby's Land 200 miles, and the others, he conjectures, are a chain of islands, and do not form a great southern continent. But, he adds, if the existence of this continent should be proved hereafter, the honour does not lie with Wilkes, who sent him a chart entitled 'A Tracing of the Icy Barrier attached to the Antarctic Continent discovered by the United States Exploring Expedition,' but with his own countrymen. 'Then the discoveries of Biscoe in January, 1831, and those of Balleny in 1839, will set at rest all dispute as to which nation the honour justly belongs of the priority of discovery of any such continent between the meridians of 47° and 163° east longitude, and those of our immortal Cook in the meridian of 107° W. in January, 1774; for I confidently believe with M. d'Urville ('Voyage au Sud Pole,' tome ii. p. 7), that the enormous mass of ice which bounded his view when at his extreme south latitude was a range of mountainous land covered with snow.'

1842, attained their furthest to the southward, 78° 10′, in the longitude of 161° 27′ W., from which point the ice-barrier trended to the northward of east, forbidding the hope of their reaching a higher latitude. Running along the edge of the pack, they experienced heavy weather, and, re-crossing the Antarctic circle, rounded Cape Horn on the 5th April, sighted Beauchene Island, a desolate rock, being the first land seen for 136 days, and, on the following day, arrived at Port Louis, in the Falkland Islands.

Here the ships refitted, and received a supply of stores and provisions from H.M.'s ship *Carysfort;* and, after a cruise to Hermite Island, ten miles north-west of Cape Horn, on the 17th December finally sailed from Port Louis on the third cruise in Antarctic seas, selecting the meridian of 55° W., where Captain Ross expected to meet with a continuation of D'Urville's Louis Philippe's Land, or, if unsuccessful, he determined to endeavour to follow the tracks of Weddell—who reached 74° 15′ S. lat., three degrees further south than any preceding navigator—with the expectation from his account of finding clear water. Beating along the pack-ice, on the 28th December, land was discovered, a conspicuous headland of which was supposed to be the 'Point des Français' of D'Urville, being the northernmost cape of the land he called 'Joinville.' Thence Captain Ross bore away to the south 'along a coast-line of icy cliffs in a sea thickly studded with grounded bergs,' past some rocky islets he named Danger Islets, one of which he called after Charles Darwin, the talented companion of Captain Fitzroy, now so famous in the scientific world.

Examining the coasts of D'Urville's Joinville Land

and Louis Philippe's Land, many points and islets of which he named after naval friends and other celebrities, Captain Ross took formal possession of Cockburn Island, off the mainland and to the north of the South Shetland Islands.

After fruitlessly attempting, for six weeks, to penetrate the pack-ice, the ships with difficulty got clear on the 4th February, 1843, in lat. 60° and long. 54°; and, ten days later, crossed Weddell's track in 1823. On the 22nd, they crossed the line of *no variation* in lat. 61° 30′ and 22° 30′ W. long., the *circle of equal dip* passing through New Zealand, and having the pole exactly half way between them at that place. Steering to the south-east, the ships crossed the 66th degree of latitude, in 7° W. longitude, being within 100 miles of the route by which Bellinghausen, in January 1820, reached the latitude of 69¾° S., 2° W. long. Having now the assurance that no considerable portion of land could lie between their tracks, Captain Ross considered it would be a waste of time to follow the Russian navigator up to that latitude, but preferred devoting the few remaining days of the navigable season to exploring between those meridians upon which he had already carried his researches so many degrees to the southward of any of his predecessors.*

Standing to the south-west, he entered the Antarctic circle, and, on the 4th March, crossed the 70th degree of latitude, having passed the highest latitude attained by Bellinghausen, about midway between his track and Weddell's. On the following day they reached their

* See 'A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions during the years 1839-43,' by Captain Sir James Clark Ross, R.N., D.C.L., F.R.S., 2 vols., 1847.

furthest south on this cruise (71° 30′, in 14° 51′ W. long.), and on the 11th March recrossing the Antarctic circle for the last time, made an ineffectual search, like Cook, for Bouvet Island,* and, failing to find it, steered for the Cape of Good Hope, having thus completed the circumnavigation of the globe. After refitting, the ships sailed from the Cape, and anchored off Folkestone on the 4th September, 1843.

Captain Ross received the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and the Gold Medal of the French Society, and was knighted for his great discoveries and persevering and successful endeavours to increase our knowledge of Antarctic regions. Commander Crozier was also promoted to post rank, and his great talents as a seamen and scientific officer procured him the appointment of second in command of the ill-fated expedition under Sir John Franklin, when the *Erebus* and *Terror*, which had borne him and his companions for three winters through the perilous seas of the Antarctic Pole, carried the British flag, for the last time, to the other extreme of the globe.

Undismayed by the hardships he had undergone in twenty Arctic winters, undeterred by the failure of

* Captain Norris, of the *Sprightly*, belonging to Mr. Enderby, sighted land in this vicinity on the 10th December, 1825, in 54° 15′ S. lat., 5° E. long., which he called Liverpool Island; and to the north-north-east another island, fifteen leagues distant, which he named Thompson's Island. The *Swan*, sealer, also belonging to Mr. Enderby, commanded by Captain Lindsay, sighted an island in 54° 24′ S. and 3° 15′ E. on the 7th October, 1808. Captain Ross says on this point: 'From these statements it would appear that there is probably more than one island in this neighbourhood, but certainly not in the positions given in their log-books; for, though unaware of these accounts at the time we were in search of Bouvet Island, we passed so near as certainly to have seen them had they been there.'

generations of seamen to solve the great problem of a north-west passage, Sir John Franklin, like Captain Cook, resigned the dignified ease of an assured position, the homage of his admiring countrymen, and the society of an affectionate wife, to brave once more the terrors of the Polar Seas; and, like that celebrated navigator, he fell a victim to his ardour in the cause of nautical discovery. Of the veteran explorer it might be said as of the 'faithful' Abdiel:—

> 'Unmoved,
> Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
> Nor number, nor example, with him wrought
> To swerve from truth or change his constant mind.'

Sir George Nares is of opinion—and his views as those of an experienced explorer and seaman should have the greatest weight—that the North Pole is unattainable, and that future expeditions should be directed to the gradual exploration of the vast Polar area, which includes almost the entire space within the eightieth degree of N. lat., an aggregate of about 2,400,000 square miles. This is a task vast enough to tax the energies of generations of adventurous seamen, thus affording the best of all schools for the exercise of those qualities of endurance, discipline, and resource, which have ever been one of the chief characteristics of the seamen of that Navy, 'whereon,' to recite the words of the preamble of an Act of Parliament, 'under the good providence of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of the kingdom chiefly depend.'

Much yet remains to be explored in Africa, Australia, South America, and Central Asia, but the waters of the globe have been penetrated and searched out in their most hidden parts, and only the Arctic and Antarctic Seas re-

main to reward the enterprise of our seamen. The 'discovery' of the North Pole is popularly regarded as the 'blue riband' of maritime emprise; when this is effected, and the Antarctic Pole is also attained, our sailors may indeed sigh in vain for other worlds to conquer! But apparently these points will be gained only by slow and persistent efforts, during which the Polar regions will be minutely explored and surveyed, the chief object for attainment in the eyes of scientific geographers. By adopting this method of slow 'sap,' we see no reason, notwithstanding the dictum of so high an authority as Sir George Nares, why this *arcanum magnum* of Father Neptune, this last impregnable citadel of the Ice King, should not be yielded up to the assaults of our blue-jackets.

When the North Pole has been gained, and the Union Jack has been planted on that mysterious spot for the attainment of which so many valuable lives have been lost during the three centuries since Sir Hugh Willoughby and his gallant crew, those proto-martyrs in the cause of Arctic research, were sacrificed in the unavailing attempt to reach Cathay by the Pole—when this consummation has been attained:

'Then, then, ye ocean warriors!
Our song and feast shall flow
To the fame of your name,
When the storm has ceased to blow.'

THE END.

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